

Ross Dowson archives – correspondence – Year 1975

Documents: bold italics

- 01_14 Letter to Spartacist tendency, re: offer for an exchange sub
- 01_15 Letter to Gary O'Brien, Ottawa, review of *Ottawa Worker*, discussion on Canadian and British radicals
- 01_21 Letter to Nic (Oleniuk?) and Mary, re: sending them copy of new SL publication of LT "For a free, independent Soviet Ukraine"
- 01_99** ***Pamphlet: "Ernest Mandel on the Generalized recession of the international capitalist economy,"*** re-printed from January *Inprecor*, Brussels; on heightening inter-imperialist competition (*on file*)
- 02_24 +Minutes of Socialist League meeting: NDP: we identify ourselves with the Brown leadership campaign; promote a mass march to Ottawa on Status of Women, Election campaign at York U., etc.
- 03_03 Letter to Dick (P.), Vancouver, re: SL looking for a hall, HQ and bookstore location; new pamphlets published; campus activities
- 03_08 Letter to Gary O'Brien, Toulouse, France, re: RD's studies on the Orange Order; death of his brother Hugh; found a new HQ; new bookstore, HQ and hall found; Morgentaler imprisoned; victory in York student council elections
- 03_98 Undated letter to Harry Braverman, *Monthly Review*, re: seeking distributorship in Canada
- 03_99** ***Pamphlet: "The New Stage in Canada-U.S. Relations,"*** document of the United Tendency of the LSA/LSO, Spring 1973; Canada and imperialism; the essence of the New Nationalism ***See: "Canadian Nationalism"***
- 04_07 Letter to *ISR* (SWP), New York, re: the tardy SL account, *ISR* no longer separately published
- 04_14 Minutes of Branch meeting: Item 7 report by Kent on organizational meeting for anti-Vietnam war demonstration
- 04_99 Forward Forum notice: weekly topics and speakers (R.D. on the Crisis of Maoism)
- 05_08 Letter to Liga Comunista Internacionalista, Lisboa, Portugal, re: our leaflet in support and local contacts

- 05_10 Letter to Gary O'Brien, Toulouse, re: big victory in Vietnam; large women's demonstration and support for Morgentaler
- 05_20 Letter to Harry (S.) and Pat, Newfoundland, re: new SL bookstore; Hugh's sudden death
- 05_23 Letter to Maurice (F.), Vancouver, re: LSA campaign against SL line of amnesty for Morgentaler at large women's mobilization; the SL support for Rosemary Brown; the problem with the gay movement
- 06_10 Letter to Dick (P.), Vancouver, re: his reservations of line of *Forward* and support for Rosemary Brown; events in Portugal moving to the left of the SP and CP
- 06_24 Letter to Mitch (P.), Winnipeg, re: RD's application to Explorations; the Morgentaler vigil
- 08_11 Letter to Anne (D.) c/o: UAW Camp, re: her getting away from home; RD hoping to land librarian job
- 08_12 Letter to Maurice (F.), Vancouver, re: *LC* article re SL slipping into doom. *LC*'s confusion on the immigration issue; LSA leaderless; comments on his article "Gay liberation, where it's at"
- 08_14 Memo to the CO, comrades: camp weekend cancelled and lodge closed but a few will be on site over Labor Day; RD delaying work on history of movement
- 08_20 Letter to Peter Peterson, London, England, re: inviting an exchange of papers; the emergence of the IS in Canada and crisis on the left
- 08_30 Letter to Maurice (F.), Vancouver, re: agree with RMG/FI against LSA/SWP position on Portugal
- 09_27 ***Document: "Greetings from the Socialist League to the demonstration to defend the lives of the political prisoners in Spain"***
- 09_29 Letter to Peter (V.H.), Burlington, re: introducing Bill Walsh, a veteran unionist and ex-CPer in Hamilton; a booklist on unionism
- 09_99 ***Undated pamphlet: Two Manifestoes***, from the Ontario NDP convention, September, ***"For a radical, revitalized NDP"***
See also: "Turn Toward Socialism," from the NDP BC Provincial Executive (published in *Forward*, Nov. 14, 1974)
- 10_07 Letter to Joe Hansen, *ICP*, re: sending him material in Portuguese

- 10_14 Letter to Harry Braverman, *Monthly Review*, re: permission to publish Einstein article in Portuguese
- 10_21 Letter to John Boyle, St. Catharines, re: apology for not getting his permission to reproduce his sketch in our review of Barry Lord's book
- 12_20A Letter to Dr. Henry Morgentaler, re: hailing his integrity, honesty and militancy in his struggle;
- 12_20B Letter to Elizabeth Lawry, TV Ontario, re: protesting that their series on sexuality is being shelved under pressure;
- 12_20C Letter to CARAL, Dear Friends, re: sorry to hear HQ is closing; need for campaign of Xmas solidarity for Dr. Morgentaler
- 1975-96** *Undated pamphlet, 'Marx & Engels on the labor party,'* (found in 1975, cover: Diego Rivera reproduction); Marx: "This first explosion against the associated oligarchy of capital ... can well form the point of origin ... of an earnest workers' (mass) party."
- 1975-97 Transcript dated December found in "Arnie Mintz 2nd. Interview file"; internal debates of the late 1930s, 40s, and 50s; discussions on individual positions and roles
- 1975-98 *Undated letter to Gary O'Brien, Ottawa re: home at last, RD selling subs to Forward in his condo, setting up a date to discuss*
- 1975-99 *Undated note to self, found in 1975, "With Joe Hansen" (SWP leader), re: Hansen's launching a document against the FI leadership position on guerrilla warfare as a continental strategy*

Ross Dowson
3rd Floor
85 King St., East

Jan 14, 1975

Spartacist
Canadian committee of the international spartacist tendency
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto

Dear comrades;

Just by happy chance one of us came across your mimeographed periodical numbered number 5 January 1, 1975

"e are heartily in agreement with Lenin's admonition that we should study both sides. It was in that spirit that we were pleased to come across this contribution on the history of the Canadian Trotskyist movement.

Would you be so good as to send us the previous four issues and place us on your mailing list so that we do not miss any future copies. We assume you are agreeable to an exchange with our press.

thnaks for your attnetion to this matter

comradely

Ross Dowson

Jan. 15, 1975
40 Homewood Ave #2311
Toronto M4Y 2K2

Ottawa
(O'Brien)
Dear Gary:

It was good to receive your short note and the copies of Ottawa Worker. I promptly sat down and read through both issues....which does not take very long as the amount of copy in them is quite small due to the large type--and the articles are written simply--which of course has some merit.

I see that it treats the NDP as just another capitalist party--and while the article is not developed does not pose the need to build a left wing or another political party but rather leaves the matter on the plane of the need of workers "to build their own organizations." From other articles in the two issues one would gather that the editors think only in terms of radical, militant unionism. However even here they show no recognition of the bureaucratization of the unions. In dealing with the BC NDP back to work legislation they dismiss the IWA leaderships evaluation of the legislation by characterizing the IWA a "US union." One gets the impression that they are for separation rather than Canadian trade union autonomy.

The paper has a rather open feeling about it suggesting that it might be possible to have some useful discussions with them from a revolutionary socialist point of view. I wonder if they hold meetings of their editorial group. There is no suggestion of an organization behind the paper in any of its pages leaving its promoters in the somewhat invidious position of appearing as sacrificing advisors standing up on high instead of fighters seeking to widen their ranks to enter into combat.

Thanks for the name of the fellow I was talking to in the store. I will drop him a line asking for an exchange--and his opinion of our paper.

So what did you think of Rivera and his book? Landscape painting reached its peak it seems to me with the English--with Constable, Turner, Bonington---then the French pre- and post impressionists---Corot, Courbet, Monet. And Lauren Harris made some shrewd comments on its reaching its dead end in Canada with the Group of Seven--quoted in my article in Forward under a reproduction of one of his fine Lake Superior landscapes.

Here is the address of the member of the British Militant group who is in Ottawa. They are a Trotskyist group that are in the Br Labor Party--they are in the leadership of its youth movement. I think that it would be worthwhile spending an evening with him to get the feel of how they work in the LP. I don't think that he has really got involved in the NDP there as I suggested or managed to get into serious contact with the Panitch current.

Have you had a chance to get in touch with the NDP and take out a membership. I of course have no idea what the climate and possibilities are in the Ottawa constituency associations--but it would be very good to get an idea--

I was pleasantly surprised last visit to hear that you know Clement along with Panitch etc. When you next come in we must talk about making contact with such types--and the Cdn Dimension group. We have just received copies of Mandel's recent book Late Capitalism---we will be putting an ad in Cdn Dimension.

Good to hear that you have moved in on Le Jour. The edit board is meeting

on Saturday--I will tell them what you are doing and we will try to make some decisions as to how it can be best put to good use.

I hear another storm is heading this way over the weekend ---which will probably keep you in Ottawa. Looking forward to another visit shortly.

comradely,

Ross Dowson

85 King Street East, 3rd Flr
Toronto

Jan 21, 1975

Dear Nic and Mary

I was hoping that I would have been able to send you this little item as a New Years gift. However it only just came off the press.

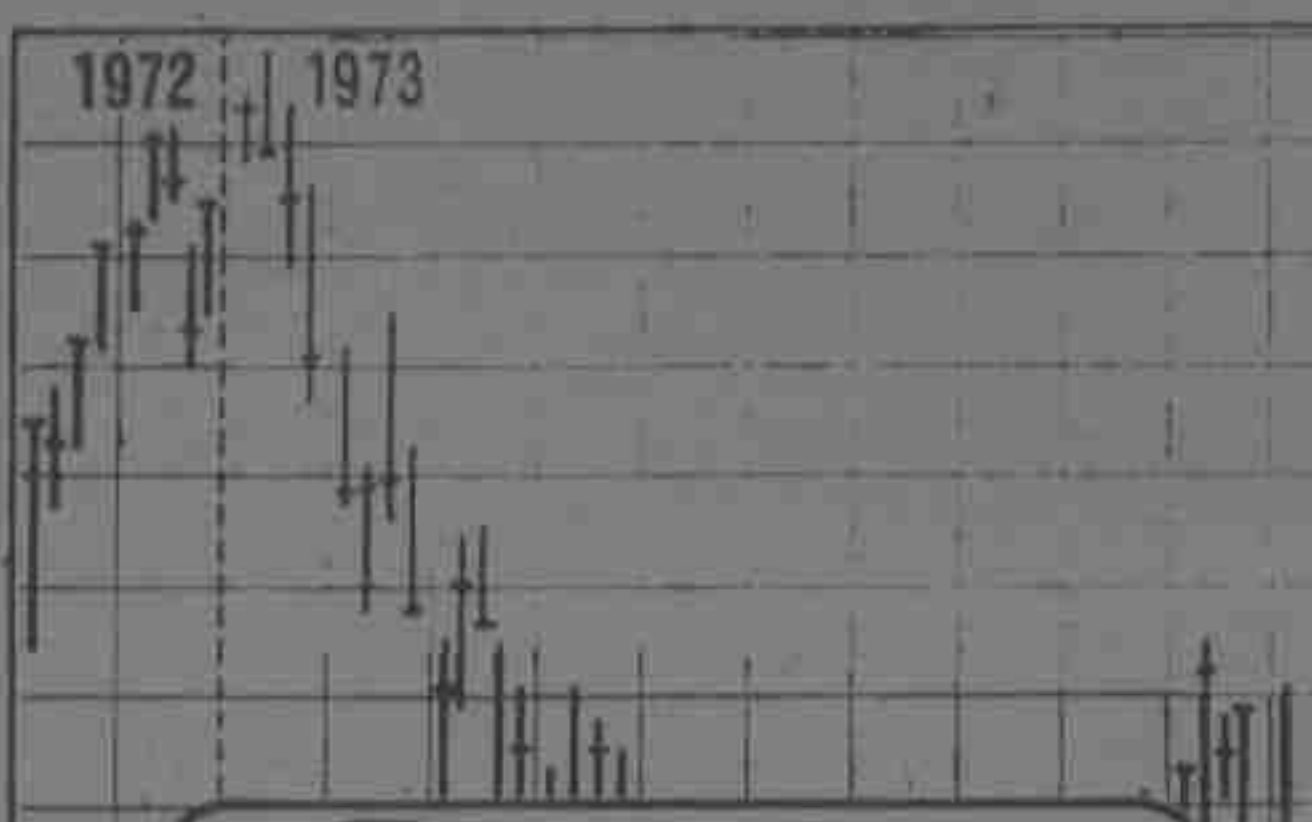
I hope that this is just as you comrades had long ago intended the pamphlet to appear. You will note that on page 2 we reproduced what is in effect a preface to this pamphlet that the Old Man wrote

So there it is ,all together, just forty years after

warmest regards

Ross Dowson

JAN 1975
Ernest Mandel



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*Dedicated to the Memory of
 Joe Burki
 Farmer — Miner — Marxist*

A FORWARD PUBLICATION
 TORONTO

ernest mandel on the generalized recession of the international capitalist economy

MARKET BREADTH

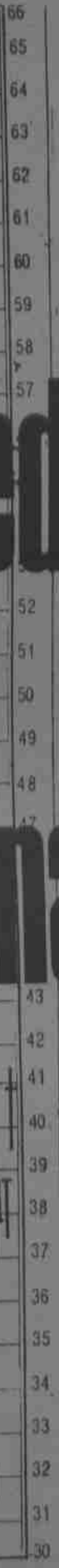
	Last	Preceding
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Prices		
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Lows		

WEEK'S MARKET

New York Stock Exchange					
High	Low	Date	Last	Change	
48.56	47.41	27	43.9	+ 2.45	
30.57	28.11	27	29.64	+ 1.53	
30.85					
48.48					
41.49					

Dow Jones					
High	Low	Date	Last	Change	
717.30	678.43	27	703.69	+ 37.08	
164.82	153.35	27	159.64	+ 6.43	
82.09	78.83	27	80.27	+ 1.31	
232.27	219.69	27	227.99	+ 9.92	

.60



March 3, 1975
85 King Street East, 3rd floor
Socialist League

Prinsep, Vancouver

Dear Dick

Good to get your short informative note along with the \$10 which you can be sure is being put to good use. In fact I have just dropped into the office from looking over various properties that are going to cause us to start looking for many more. The comrades are all convinced that we have more than outgrown our present headquarters down town here along from the King Edward Hotel. Our present hqtrs allows us to hold our branch meeting adequately and in fact even our classes as we can pack in 30 odd people and carry a modest display of revolutionary literature --but the heat is on us to have a hall and even more to have a more public face(not 3rd floor) and a bookstore. John Darling has gone all out in the direction of setting up a modest printing operation--press, cutter etc and he wants space on a ground floor in a passerbly area. So we have made the decision to move out. Right now we have three very likely spots in mind. Boy are rents high. It looks like we cannot get anything for less than \$400. Of course John's shop will carry part of it. There is an excellent place under the Black community headquarters on College just up the corner from Kensington Market were the Portuguese frequent--has everything we would want although not quite the passingby trade for the bookstore and they want over \$600. Then our eyes are on one of the few standing stores in the old village on Gerrard just off the ~~corner~~ corner of Bay--southeast. Two big super apartment, stores and medical offices are flanking it now. The store is small and small also the space for John's press. We would have to rent offices upstairs and they are not really hall space but class space--that comes to \$550. Then there is a shop of Sapdina just up from Cecil-Grossmans Tavern. Very good space but not in my opinion a very good location although though a Maoist bookstore is just down from it and one of the few good second hand bookstores is just up from it and it is not far from the campus. It is over \$400. We will be making a decision I would think in the next week.

Once that is decided we will have to raise some dough for the stocking of the bookstore and then some dough for somekind of staff. Gord Doctorow is on staff right now and we would not want to take him into the store except in a supplementary way. I could spend some time on the store but I have many many things that I want to do that are a higher priority. Naturally there is a leadership problem in the SL although we are making firm and good progress.

The history of the Canadian Trotskyist movement ?? Well that will have to wait or be done on the run. The grant did not come through so I am making a living. Right now I am doing it by doing research, historical--The Toronto Orange Order from 1900 to 1914. Very interesting but its chief merit is that I can work on my own hours--even Saturday night and Sunday--any night until 12---and feed into the work of the movement. I just work sufficient hours to pay my rent and food bill. I think I can still participate in the making of history so I have no intention of writing it or at least setting myself aside for a whole period. That is exactly what the LSA gang wanted me to do--become the patriarch.. Write the history that ~~xxxxxxx~~ they would like to think would buttress them and then on occasion at banquets and such rise to say a few words about our glorious past... nothing about our present and our future.

Yes Stu was telling me about the hassle over Forward. Maurice got a big bang out of it--Before they were saying Dowson and company of course are a wash out--now according to Maurice they say that we have left a gaping wound. Well the paper is in the

Rogers book operation and other places. I had the impression that Ruth was carrying other tendency papers--even the Pacific Tribune if I am not mistaken--but no matter. As you probably know we have now put out another publication. Against Sectarianism, then Trotsky on the Ukraine and now Mandel on the international capitalist crisis. And we are in the midst of putting out another pamphlet. Stu was well received by a considerable number of comrades who used to be part of the hard core of the Vancouver Trotskyist movement. Right now we are circulating literature but we will be making more moves.

Our biggest major public activity right now is the student council elections at York. Everyone appears to be convinced that this year Dale Ritch will make it although at the last minute an NDPer the incumbent re-entered. We have the leading NNP activist on the United Left Slate. Charlie Lee was over on Sunday and it looks like the action conference called for next weekened at Brock will come off despite the behind the back sabotage by the Ontario ~~Students~~ Federation of Students which administratively is in the hands of the CP. I made the opening address to the formation of the Brock Socialist Students Coalition which contains the best militants on Brock

When are you coming East? As far as I was concerned the agreement for the camp ownership has been all drawn up but for some reason the LSA end is no longer pushing. The agreement places the portion of the camp that was largely your donation in common ~~ownership~~ use of all lot owners and in common ownership of the lot owners associated together in a share ownership company. It was a beautiful day yesterday and I was thinking of the camp. If I can scrape together the funds I intend to build a modest cabin there this year on my lot. Come on down and give me a hand.

comradely

Ross Dowson

March 8, 1975
40 Homewood Ave #2311
Toronto

85 rue de Lamayrac
Ecole Saint Joseph, #53
31079 Toulouse Cedex
France

Dear Gary;

(J. Brien)

You must excuse my long delay in taking up your valuable letter and supplying you with odds and bits of what is happening on this side of the great Atlantic--not to mention your copy of Forward.

I am very busy--all the more that I did not get the government grant. Of course I never did think they would give me a grant however I am always for trying anything, for trying to move in the chinks of the system to see what we can squeeze out of it or pick up from it. The letter was very nice but I consider now the matter is closed. So I am keeping myself in hamburger by doing the research for Wayne--right now pouring through The Sentinel 1911. This happens to interest me very much. The Orange Order with its base in Toronto and particularly in this period is well worth studying. If I thought that Wayne could change his theme it would be valuable to concentrate on such a movement which for an extended period controlled the government apparatus in Toronto and had considerable input into the shaping of the capitalist state ~~structure~~ in its most formative period. This British imperialist, Protestant movement with its broad mass base functioned ~~in~~ ~~as~~ as a vanguard movement for totally different purposes but nonetheless in ways quite similar to Bolshevism. It was mass action oriented--with the July 12 demonstration in the streets, demonstratively proclaiming its views, its membership publically having to declare themselves. The assembly of the brothers on that day, at the place designated, was an official meeting of the lodge with everyone expected to attend and in regalia. Mass action and confrontation politics was firmly imbedded into LOL ranks by the leadership. The Association operated on a campaign basis, by this means concentrating its forces and energies around immediate objectives that gave it a concentrated hitting power. Its press was central to its operations. Its lodges took on the circulation of the Sentinel as a cardinal task. They were imbued with the concept that no matter how small in numbers they had to have their own meeting halls and they did establish a big printing establishment of their own. It was themselves against the world, of course with God on their side. Aside from their lodge meetings with their educationals and ~~and~~ their ritual, they had special educational meetings and an intensive social life. While the Conservative party paralleled their views they were careful to retain their independence, etc etc ~~and~~ But what reactionaries, what bigots, racists, what Anglo-Saxon chauvinists and imperialists.

As interesting as that research is a much greater interest is the Socialist League and my overwhelming concern about this is such as it cuts me out from working on the Orange Order and thus making the necessary funds to pay my rent and grocery bill. Over the last week I managed to squeeze out of myself to work on the Order a mere 10 1/2 hours. Two other projects interfered. ~~As~~ ~~such~~ will see from the next issue of Forward my brother Hugh suddenly died then--Over shock for five years ago he had a massive heart attack and ~~almost~~ died then--Over the past five years he has been living on borrowed time. He left a meeting down at our offices a little early, went to bed and ~~was~~ slipped into unconsciousness. We held a revolutionary ceremony at the Necropolis crematorium attended by about 150 -ersons. Since then I have had to spend some time helping get his family of four going

again. Claire his wife will probably make out ok and so too their four children the oldest only 14. The other project is to implement our decision to get out of our third floor office and down closer to the street. For the last several days we have been settling our minds about various properties we have located, and working out a big for an excellent location---south side of Gerrard between Bayn and Yonge. One of the comrades wants to set up a print shop which we have a great interest in helping him realize. The landlord cutback on our offer to terms that are really not acceptable and this afternoon we are working out a counter offer that we hope will meet our minimum requirements and be satisfactory to him. If we get it we will set up a bookstore after we raise the necessary cash. That would place us in the center of the city between two of the largest apartment and medical offices in the city that have just gone up on Gerrard, half a block from the hottest part of Yonge. I personally would take it for two years--the next two years seem to me to be quite crucial for revolutionary vanguard forces in Europe and in America. The student radicalization is still there but it is not mobilizable around any specific and ongoing issues, the working class radicalization is rising but reformism is tending to consolidate itself. The CP here in Canada which was largely irrelevant over the 60s and 70s has been given a lift by the immigration--from Chile and from Greece and a bit from Italy, it has also proven able to re-establish itself even if only modestly in the union movement, largely through the trade union brass thanks to the UE. The breakdown of the ISA was a big setback, the Lambertists are making headway on an independent basis in Montreal, the anti-Laxer group from the Waffle split up while moving to the left is also going its own way towards the International Socialists either British or US. So the revolutionary left is not finding it possible or should I say necessary to coalesce. We made every possible overture to the Waffle left to no avail. In fact they did not even come into the United Left Salute we were able to organize at York for the SAC elections there where they are mainly concentrated.

April 4, 1975

Again you must excuse my continuing delay. I am managing to pick up again--after almost a month, at our new location. Yes we got the facilities that we put a big in for--on Gerrard Street West off Bay. I am in the store which is in the process of being whipped into shape. This is a big and bold move out for our all too tiny forces. I anticipate that it will tend to put us in the center of the radical forces in ~~the downtown~~ Toronto. The hall upstairs where we will be starting our class on the 11th is very ~~small~~ and the store is adequate to our purposes. I have spent the past week working out the stock--the basic stock--and making arrangements with the distributors. We have room for about 700 faces of pocket books--we will have all the best of the major publishers, with a smattering of their best sellers crap to tray and pay the rent with, as we feel confident that we are located on what will be a good passerbly place. On to that we will be grafting on all the Pathfinder Press and Monthly Review Press titles, the publications of all the various left groups including their journals etc etc. While these various groups are at war with one another---The Marxist Institute has just suffered a split--half and half, the RMG has just lost a few others to the Spartacus group---if we can get all their publications under our little roof and turn our area into a center of revolutionary opinion we can hope to influence the general evolution of ~~the~~ the radicalization.

Steve Penner spoke at the last institute class--a way down to about 40. The one I attended last Fall had about 200. It was there that one of our comrades learned that an anarchist-Libertarian elements took away fifty percent of the membership and the treasury. The next night we got an urgent phone call from the RMG that their meeting on the West Indies struggles was publicly being threatened with assault by the White Guard. Nothing would do in such a situation but to close up shop and turn up there. It was a

-3-
a sorry spectacle. They had the leader of the Martinique Trotskyists and Rosie Douglas. The LSA had a fair number of comrades there, the Spartacus activities ~~xx~~ were there but by about 8:15 there couldn't have been more than 50-60 persons--all very bedraggled unkempt, hip left....more revolutionary in life-style than anything else. The LSA is continuing to adapt to the ultra-left RMG it would appear in all ways.

The big news in Canada is the imprisonment of Dr Morgenthauer. I would think that this event might even be covered by the Toulouse press since the question of abortion is such an international concern. Unfortunately the LSA which at one time very adroitly gave leadership in this area when it commenced to adapt to the ultra left decided to "feminize" the operation---this meant women only, dump--"every mother a willing mother, every child a wanted child" and in fact since mass actions could not be mobilized, putting the committee on ice. All the liberals and humanists pulled out and we moved to CARAL--Committee for the Repeal of the Abortion Laws---Morgenthauer is a director of this body ~~whch~~ Elinor Pelrine NDP candidate in Eglinton and author of Abortion in Canada and others. Last night the best elements in this committee have decided to launch a Morgenthauer Defence Committee which we will be much involved in. The reformists of all types have been very uneasy about the abortion question--the Trudeau government, particularly the Hon Mr Lang has been going along with the Catholic hierarchy and the so-called Right to Life (Friends of the Foetus) Ironically this year--International Women's Year has up until now seen everyone soft peddling abortion. Now with the imprisonment of Morgenthauer the question of abortion has been thrust right into the forefront, and becomes the central question for all activists in any ~~future~~ international women's year event.

Ah yes, a real breakthrough on the campus for the SL. The United Left Slate at York, with Dale Ritch of the SL for president swept the elections. A group of student militants who are extremely close to us--I opened their first lecture series a few months ago, swept the elections at Brock University in St Catharines. We held a rousing forum last Thursday night where almost the entire galaxy of leaders from York and Brock appeared on our platform--and we were able to attract the present elect of the U of T campus. This is a really big challenge for us--to have the leadership of such an important campus. --we have had lots of experience in opposition. The SL as such of course is quite small at York--about 5 comrades but the United Left slate which encompassed the NDP (against the incumbent president an NDPer) the Greek group, the third world group (the RMG has some comrades there but they didn't participate) About all they contributed was a demand that we should run an anti-Zionist campaign instead of fighting the cutbacks--they were laughed off the floor.

Well it was good you got to Spain, as it would now appear that ~~xxx~~ the struggle is moving forward and it will be more meaningful for you to follow it. Of course Portugal is key. Before you leave Europe it would be extremely valuable if you could go both to Portugal and to England for a period. The CP's support of the military bonapartist forces is like a replay of the Chile experience. The revolutionary socialist forces have little time to develop, but fortunately there are some and there is every possibility. The Toronto Star the other day carried an astonishingly cynical edit urging NATO intervention. The sizeable Portuguese community here is under ~~unpleasant~~ ~~unpleasant~~ ~~unpleasant~~ there will be further delay--again my

apologies----fraternally Ross Dowson

(Friend's March 1975)

Ross Dowson # 2311
40 Homewood Ave
Toronto M4Y 2K2
Canada

Monthly Review Press

attention Harry Braverman

Dear Comrades;

You will recall the days when I set up Crescent Books with Merlin, New Left, Pathfinder and Monthly Review Books as a total operation. A promising project---however.

I see that Book Centre in Montreal are now MR's Canadian agent.

Of course you best know your experience with them. But (1) I no longer see any assortment of MR books in stores where I would expect a good proportional set up would place them, and (2) Forward Books here in Toronto tell me that they have had a dismal experience with Book Centre. The latter takes no initiatives. It appears that they never were able to get a copy or listing of your 1975 catalogue---the latest all through 1975 was a Xero x copy of your Fall 1974 catalogue. They have now had to write to try and get a 1976 catalogue. They tell me that Book Centre appears to have little or no stock

I would appreciate knowing what relations you have established here in Canada. Does Book Centre still have MR--and does it have an exclusive?

I am seriously thinking of moving back into this area myself again. Any information you might give me would be treated in strictest confidence.

sincerely

Ross Dowson

The NEW STAGE in



CANADA-U.S. RELATIONS

A Forward Publication

50c

Forward Books
53 Gerrard Street West
Toronto M5G 1J2
Canada

Apr 7/75

International Socialist Review
14 Charles Lane
New York, N.Y. 10014
USA

Dear Comrades;

Our delay in answering your request for payment on the bundle of ISR's that you have kindly been shipping us is twofold;

1) the comrades in charge, Dale Ritch, was in a horrendous auto accident. His wife is only now coming to consciousness after some 14 or more days and he himself is only now able to get around without too much difficulty. In the meantime he headed the polls and is now president of York University Student Administrative Committee.

2) the mail strikes held up and delayed a couple of issues and we still have them on the stands of a couple of major stores. We will settle the March (final issue) sales when we take the April issue of Forward around to them.

In the mean time enclosed please find a partial payment.

1000 MO

comradely

Ross Dowson

We regret very much to hear that the ISR is no longer to be published as a separate monthly magazine. ..and that we were not able to get behind it earlier to possibly influence your decision.

1. chairman- Jim C. Secretary, Kent, sargent at arms dispensed with at new HQ
2. Attendance; present; Kent, Jim C, Bill M, Zahir, Abie, Harry P, John D
Absent with reason primarily because of NDP meetings and social held in St Kitts for
Forward- Stu, Gus, ~~and~~ Julie, Wayne, Ellie, Alice, Gord, Rozie, Carol, Dave, Fred, Jan
Robert
3. Minutes and Correpondence. Motion to adopt minutes of April 7 with the ammendment
that we have not decided to no longer participate in Stalinist dominated May Day
preparations. Efforts are supposedly being made to widen it and we intend to
attend next meeting. passed unan.
Letter from SL to Henry Morgenthau read-- motion to file-passed unan. Comrades
urged to promote correspondence to him to keep up his morale
4. Membership and contacts--noted that it was decided to have other comrades go to
the St Kits affair to firm up our contact there prior to Charlie & Judy leaving
there--hopefully they will decide to come to Toronto rather than Vancouver.
5. Fund Drive-Report by Kent since Dave has been called back to work on night shift.
Comrades pledges now at \$1,798 and outside pledges at \$74. Lists have been handed
out for comrades to contact. This Sunday extensive phoning done. Harry P pledged
\$100 and Zahir \$100
6. May Day. Harry P reported we are still in contact with the CP dominated May Day
preparations. We have come across a communication for another united May Day
event too late to participate in planning but we are now in contact. They report their
planning meeting did not come off and they are holding a banquet -appears to be
Maoist influenced trade union activists, with contact on Campus. They are contacting
our campus comrades. At this time there seems little possiblity of a united May
Day action --the Trotskyist left- LSA, RMG, Spartacus and Intl Socialists appear to
have no plans together or separately. ~~Some of the groups are holding a big affair~~
~~over May 3-4 with Rodney and Leroy Jones now advocating a revolutionary communist~~
~~party featured, Motherlead Union holding a May 2 demo-- Our social committee~~
thereofre proposes that we hold a social affair May 3rd. Harry gave report--a modest
hall, investigating Neil Wyseck, plans to get student contact at York to prepare
skit etc. and to draw St Kits. Report adopted unan
7.
Report by Kent on April 10 meeting called by RMG for Vietnam demo. Only, RMG, LSA
SL, Spartacus and Gvanese group turned up, although it would appear that LAMG
and one or two other groups are interested according to RMG reporter. RMG proposed
a March. Kent proposed a meeting in view of the fact that we cannot anticipate a
large participation. RMG prposed two slogans-- Solidarity with the Vietnam Revol-
ution and No Imperialist Intervention. Two LSA reps opposed --want slogans that
can mobilize mass forces, defensive formulations although they had no suggestions
when it was pointed out that no matter the slogans the action could only be a
solidarity with the victorious drive of the revolution. Their arguments were in the
framework that nothing substantial had changed and that the struggle was were it had
been three or four years ago. Kent proposed two slogans Solidarity with the
Vietnamese National Liberation Struggle and Hands off Vietnam. Voted down although
one LSAer voted for the latter. ~~Spartacus~~ opposed proposed RMG poster, too identified
with NFL which will betray the struggle. RMG declared it is going to carry own
poster with RMG and 4th symbol etc. but will participate in preparing an Ad Hoc
Committee poster. which will carry other sponsors. ~~Some of the groups are holding a big affair~~
~~over May 3-4 with Rodney and Leroy Jones now advocating a revolutionary communist~~
Kent moved that it not be a march but a open air meeting
at city hall ending up across the street at US consulate. RMG pressed for concession
of a limited march around back of old city hall down Yonge a bloc along Queen to
University up to condulate--agreed. Friday meeting to settle poster saw LSA withdraw.
We contrbuted \$20 and will participate..Report adopted unan

Report by Kent that Pat Shultz will be chairing a meeting planned at the OISE auditorium April 22. A coalition is being formed -Ad Hoc Committee to Stop Social Sector Cutbacks. The hope is to link up the Student-faculty and Staff forces fighting the government cutbacks with the Social sector groups also being hit by the cutbacks--daycare etc.

Educations--Report on 1st class held in new hdqtrs. Agreed that Abie's education on the Jewish question was excellent--good on the floor participation. St Kits contacts made a real addition to forum along with some York contacts who made the forum a success. Motion that we put out a notice of next forum--on the Reed book--as the old notice did not play up our new location--passed. Motion that tonights educational be a hat box.

Break for Dues and pledges

Hat box education centered around question of workers control struggles developing in England and elemental strivings this way in Canada at Temiskaming and Joliette and on the question of State capitalist theories becoming more prominent with the formation of the ~~International Socialist~~ Group here out of the Waffle and other forces.

Independent

Calendare--- Thursday and Friday LAWG ~~anniversary~~ commemoration of US invasion on Santo Domingo. Friday nite--our class on Evelyn Reed's book. Saturday city hall action in solidarity with the Vietnamese at 2 o'clock. 8p.m. Warsaw Ghetto uprising meeting at workmen's Circle. Sunday TCLPAC now called Toronto Committee for the Liberation of South Africa Festival 3 p.m. and banquet at 5:30. Monday SL meets

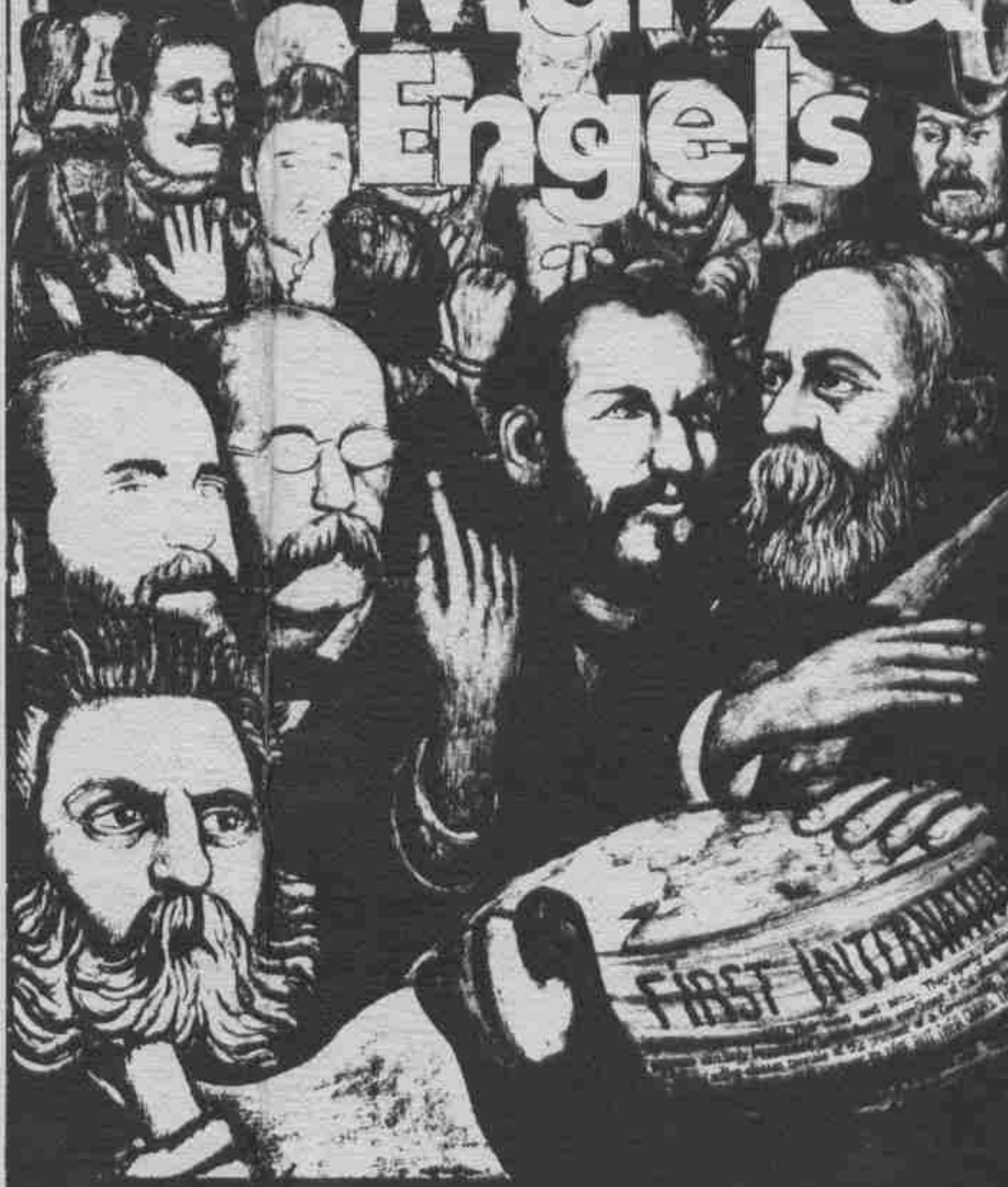
on the LABOR PARTY

Marx & Engels



What do you think of the workers of the United States? This last explosion against the associated oligarchy of capital will naturally be suppressed, but can well form the point of origin for the constitution of an earnest workers party. The policy of the new president will make the Negroes, and the great expressions of land will make the already dissatisfied farmers of the West, into allies of the workers.

KARL
MARX



This cover is a reproduction of one of the twenty-one panels in fresco that the famed Mexican artist Diego Rivera painted for the New Workers School in New York. It is Panel Eight of the series that constitute a graphic presentation of the Portrait of America.

This series was the fruit of Rivera and his co-workers experiences in the United States following the destruction by the Rockefellers of the fresco that had been painted for the Rockefeller Center.

Dominating the panel is the figure of Karl Marx, with a portrait of his co-worker, Frederick Engels, by his side. To the right of Engels appear: William Silvis, a pioneer U.S. trade unionist and founder of the National Labor Union, signalling his support of the First International; Terence V. Powderly, head of the Knights of Labor; Henry George, summoning the workers to battle in the name of a war on monopoly in land; and Johann Most, the anarchist.

The scroll in Marx's hand reads: "What do you think of the workers of the United States? This first explosion against the associated oligarchy of capital will naturally again be suppressed, but can well form the point of origin for the constitution of an earnest workers' party. The policy of the new president will make the Negroes, and the great expropriations of land will make the already dissatisfied farmers of the West, into allies of the workers."

At the top of the panel, behind these major figures, is portrayed the Chicago police assault on a picket line at the McCormick Harvest works which resulted in the murder of six workers. This was a preliminary action in the call by the budding American Federation of Labor that May 1, 1886, initiate a nation-wide struggle for the 8 hour day. The panel also shows the subsequent protest rally in Haymarket during which an agent provocateur threw a bomb that killed several people, including police. The outstanding Chicago union leaders were framed and four of them, Parsons, Spiess, Fischer and Engel, shown with ropes around their necks, died on the gallows.

To keep up-to-date with developments and to be an effective participant in the struggle to build the socialist forces in the NDP, and make it an effective instrument in the Canadian workers' and farmers' struggle for a socialist Canada, you will want to read and suscribe to:

forward

Box 788 Adelaide St., P.O.

Toronto, Ont.

6 issues \$1

12 issues \$2

Name _____

Address _____

FORWARD FORUM



FRI. APRIL 9: We are cancel-
ling our forum in order to attend
an important meeting in def-
ence of Soviet political pris-
oners, featuring Marxist Soviet
dissident and exile, Leonid
Plyushch. Sharing the platform
are prominent representatives
of the Canadian labor move-
ment. We urge everyone to at-
tend at Convocation Hall, Un-
iversity of Toronto, at 7:30 p.m.



FRI. APRIL 16: Whither Spain?
-an assessment of the develop-
ing revolutionary situation
and its consequences for Europe
-Speaker: Dale Ritch, former
president of York University
students' council

FRI. APRIL 23: The Crisis of Maoism

-a report and analysis of the developments in this current on the revolutionary left in Canada
-Speaker: Ross Dowson, contributing editor to Forward

FRI. APRIL 30: A May Day Perspective on Canadian Labor's Giant Struggle

-a Marxist appraisal of the rise of labor struggles against the wage freeze and cutbacks, in
the forward movement of the working class towards a socialist society
-Speaker: Murray Dowson, longstanding union activist and socialist



FORWARD FORUMS are held regularly every Friday night at 8:00
53 GERRARD ST. WEST (at BAY ST.)
Phone: 595-1284 for information

Socialist League
53 Gerrard Street West
Toronto

May 8, 1975

Liga

Liga Comunista Internacionalista
Rua da Palma 268-270
Lisboa, Portugal

Dear Comrades;

Enclosed you will find a couple of copies of a leaflet that we circulated to election meetings held here in Toronto for and by Portuguese immigrants who had the vote. We took the liberty of urging these workers in our own name to vote MDP/ CDE. The leaflet was well received, it caused considerable interest. A Portuguese friend of the Socialist League helped finance it.

We sent you a copy of an earlier leaflet we circulated back on April 2 and we understand that our Portuguese friend here in Canada sent you a letter with a small financial contribution to your work. Neither he nor we have received recognition of this correspondence. We hope that you got it and have been delayed from giving us recognition by the pressure of events in your country. We would appreciate hearing from you first opportunity--we would like to know if the above address is a good one.

with revolutionary socialist greetings

Ross Dowson

6. O'Brien
C. Brown
1000 St. Joseph
85 rue de Homewood Ave # 53
31079 Toulouse Cedex
France

May 10, 1975

40 Homewood Ave 2311
Toronto

Dear Gary;

Just a short note to go with the paper.

A great victory in Vietnam. No doubt the Toulouse left held a big celebration. We had a modest one here in Toronto in the city hall square and over in front of the US legation. The LSAdoes not seem to understand the significance of this event and talks in terms of No imperialist intervention and defensive formulations. The PMG is gungho--with ultra left slogans---

So we had a celebration of a great event which the working people of Canada and above all the United States had a big hand in.

As you will see a n important victory was realized at York and the campus could ~~max~~ appear to be opening up for this fall with the faculty and the support staff coming out onto the arean.

Even look like Canadian Dimension is moving out to participate in a serious analysis of Cdn nationalism. You will not@Warnock's interest. The latest issue of Cd has an article which talks of the Cdn sate as an instrument of the US bourgeoisie³²----- this has long been a big gap in the structure of our viewpoint.

We had last Saturday our first big women's demo for many years/---about 1,000 to 1,500 turned out; We did out best to inject Morgenthauer and our Amnesty efforts into the action and met with considerable success. The bourgeois politicos in Ottawa have lost their head on the Morgenthauer case. They have vigorously declared that he will not be allowed to attend the cermonies planned by the world humanist movement to give him the annual award, are carrying the other charges that they laid against him and are now moving in on his nurse and the doctor who long assisted him. The Committee for Abortion Law Repeal is now becoming a membership organization with its first meeting tonight. It may well become the center for continuing action behind Morgenthauer.

And last but not least we have finally got our store opened up. It has been like pulling teeth to get the stock in--oddly enough everyone is worried about our credit--then there is just the sheer inefficiency in the business. I think we are witnessing a certain phenomenea that has been developing --fewer persons are really identifying themselves with and their futures with the outfits they are working for--and no one ventures to move out beyond the formal rigid rules laid down by those above. But the store is underway and first results give me a feeling that it will turn out ok--it will ce ainly put the SL at the center on the radicalization. --we ar stocking the material of all the tendencies. Cops --the Cfn Liberation Movement will (not) sell us any of their material because we are Trotskyists, although they are selling t Eatons etc.

When do you return. Looking forward to seeing you again after your Grant Tour

fraternally

Ross Dov

40 Homewood Ave #2311
Toronto

May 20, 1975

Newfoundland

Dear Harry and Pat;

You will have to pardon my delay in answering your nice letter. We have just moved into a new place---which combines a store, a hall and a pigeon-hole Socialist League office. The moving itself is a big job and we are only now really getting the bookstore into shape. You will know the area---the store is what used to be the Artisan---on Gerrard on the south side just off Bay---not far from where the CP used to have their bookworld. Right now the area has few passersby but there is a skyscraper between us and Yonge and another on the same side of the street as us but across the corner on Bay. We expect by the fall it will be difficult to walk on the sidewalk. The buildings will be doctors offices, shopping areas and well to do apartments. Of course we are just one block off the busiest section of Yonge street so we can expect people to find their way to us.

I am in the store right now. In order to finance it we decided to split it in half and share it with John Darling's print shop--Action Print. John helps carry the rent and we answer his phone accept payment and hand over jobs he has done etc. As you know you could not run a one person shop..so we perform a useful service. The shop is a modest one --a 1250 Multi--a dark room and our strip printer, our IBM typewriter. I think this week he got it off the ground. The headquarters --the hall--is excellent. Harry Paine has finished some nice shelving and it will be in order by tomorrow night for our regular class. I would think it will hold as many as 50 persons. It is right above the store and print shop. Stu ~~ix~~ Sinclair is moving into the store once it is all set up and of course Gord is working full time as organizer I think they will make for a good operation

Thanks very much for the donation to the press---and I am glad Pat you find children more interesting than dogs--they are even more challenging--they will soon be talking back--and who knows teachings u s a thing or two--at least forcing us to keep up with changing times.

Yes, Hugh left us very suddenly. I was in the old office in one room, Hugh was in the other with Fred Callaghan and other when I got a phone call from Lois telling me that he had died--I did not even know that he was not feeling well and had left the meeting to go home. He told Stu when he had his first and really massive heart attack that he hope he had five years to see the kids come along a bit---well he had about 4 1/2 years. Of course if he had been able to retire he would have had many years--however he was a worker with 5 others to sustain. Claire and the kids seem to be coming along ok. This weekend I hope to be able to sell the cottage that Hugh set up at Pigeon Lake on the lot that we were going to put the camp on until Jimmy Howell gave part of the Poundmaker area. Claire is working three days a week translating. Lots of tension as the kids are really too much for her--very sharp and you know how worldly Claire is.

I have met Gordon twice now on the Yonge Street strip as they call it. Good to hear that he is going into architecture. Construction along with printing is one of the few areas where there appears to be technological progress under capitalism these days.

The Socialist League is very busy ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ perhaps too much so. Morgehtnaler is the big effort. This Saturday some of the comrades will be going to a protest action in Ottawa, Trudeau has refused to meet a deputatun for amnesty--but I see from today's paper that he received a deputat on from the anti-woman friends of the foetus forces.

But I must away..I have been delaying writing several other letters including one from Vancouver comrades on our decision to support the Rosemary Brown candidature in the NDP. Do you maintain a connection with the NDP your way. Would like to hear a few words about social life and action in the Newfoundland area.

warmest regards

Ross Dowson

May 23, 1975
Toronto

Vancouver

Dear Maurice;

Thanks for your letter. Yes, we should keep in touch but right now we are much pressed getting the bookstore on the rails and responding as best we can to the many pressures on our all too small group. Of course that is what the store is all about. It will turn up contacts for us and incidently put us right in the center of the radical milieu again

The May 10th affair was highly successful. Morgenthau dominated the scene. The two contending forces were the SL and the LSA. Many new women came to the policy planning meetings ~~and~~ didn't know what it was all about. The league played to the backward elements with an anti-Star ^{line}--the speakers were to come out of the ranks of the supporting groups and not be featured speakers like ~~Jane Galloway~~ ^{Jane Galloway} or Laura Sabia. Liz Barclay, who is a fine popular agitational speaker, but not at all a known unionist, was presented as against Grace Hartman-Shirley Carr---they went through the motions of trying to get

Madeline Parent but could ^{not} find her address. The LSA campaign against the Amnesty for Morgenthau slogan was loud and persistent. Regula Modlich volunteered to silk screen placards for Morgenthau contingent. Without our having anything to do with it she made them read Amnesty for Morgenthau. The LSA insisted they be ~~rew~~ done which Regula did. Big deal--real education for the new women. Well, amnesty carried the day---CARAL carried that and of course we saturated the parade and onlookers with our press and particularly the button--sold over 400 I understand. Our intervention was by far the most effective---we even had our bookstore in operation with a literature display which of course is without equal now

But as to Rosemary Brown. With our position of unconditional and critical support of the NDP we support whoever becomes the leader of the party--we lay no conditions as to who is party leader ----we support the party and whoever the delegates in convention support as the leader--we will support him ^{he} know the LSA gets into the tortured position that they support the party, but not the leadership. A very difficult thing to do as the leadership are inextricably at the given moment and then some, tied to the party--and do ~~not~~ exist outside of it anymore than the party exists without a leadership--officers. We are of course for a new leadership, a different leadership as we are for a different a more radical, a ~~socialist~~ socialist program. But we support the party as against the bourgeois parties and its leadership as against the bourgeois political leaders. Having said those basic few words of course who is the leader ~~x~~ is not a matter of ~~indifference~~ indifference to us. A leadership campaign poses political questions to which the various candidates attempt to respond and so such a contest can become a big political experience for the membership. ..we can hope to intervene in this process and even if we cannot do so effectively because of various circumstances--our poverty of forces--it can still be a big political experience for the members--laying the basis for future formations even.

We here are all agreed that Broadbent, Harney and Nystrom are all administration candidates. ..and that only Brown ~~is~~ can be said to be anti-administration.

It seems to us that Harney and I think it goes for Nystrom too, can only be seen as drawing votes away from Brown--as splitting the ~~proletarian vote~~ the opposition vote to the administration's boy Broadbent. In our opinion, based on all the reports of the various speeches we have come across Rosemary Brown very clearly projects the need for a socialist ~~policy~~ objective as against the reformist line of the others. The fact that she is a woman is also of some consideration in this matter.

We are for a clear policy of support of Rosemary Brown.

I have on the basis of some comments by Jim come to the conclusion that the gay comrades here in Toronto not only suffer badly a disillusionment over the efforts to build a revolutionary vanguard party--~~and~~ a nucleus for ~~such~~ such a party...but have ceased to be social revolutionists. For them the highest priority is the sexual revolution--period. Whereas as a socialist revolutionist I am for the sexual revolution as a process which can only be arrived at through the utter smashing of the ~~entire~~ capitalist order, the routing of all the old and the domination of all the new which will bring with it the sexual revolution.

We have received a nice letter from Thorstad which we are publishing in the next issue.

Regards to the "family." The baby must really be thriving.

best wishes


Ross Dowson

40 Homewood Ave 2311
Toronto

June 10, 1975

Prinsep, Vancouver

Dear Dick

Good to get your note.

Yes, Fred Callahan is the Fred Callahan of your previous acquaintance. Fred is a member of the Socialist League--aside from the teachers who came out of the youth radicalization, the SL has the few trade unionists that the Trotskyist movement held onto. Fred is now president of a small Steelworkers local--Cole Steele. Greatness thrust upon him as the local would probably collapse if he did not accept the office. Fortunately he has already come across a very good type in the shop. He was down at our trade union fraction last night. Stu Sinclair says that we will be recruiting him.

I am glad you like reading the Forward. ...even with the reservations--"although I don't agree with all the articles...even if not agreeing with some of its thrust..." When you get the chance perhaps you might like to make your comments more specific. Of course the comrades would like to make the paper increasingly more effective in the struggle for the Canadian socialist revolution--your criticisms and suggestions could be very useful. I am also interested in order to grasp your political evolution or if the case may be--how you see the political evolution of the SL. As you probably know the SL thinks that it is merely continuing the line of the ISA--the line it carried for years outlined specifically in the documents Canada US Relations, a socialist viewpoint (1968) and The NDP--our strategic orientation (1972) both of which have been dumped now by the ISA. As you have probably noted that ISR issue circulated by the ISA Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism bears little relation to the document that was actually discussed and adopted by the convention of the ISA--it is a detailed repudiation of the 1968 document.

I found your comments on Rosemary Brown interesting. /As you have probably noticed Cross Country with the NDP (Forward) this issue clearly comes out for Brown. I see you question whether she is actually more radical than Broadbent and company. It seems clear to me from reading many reports of her contributions she certainly talks more radical and is the anti-administration candidate. As you probably know all our comrades are members of the NDP--all who can get in. And thus we have to take a stand on the leadership question--or abstain--which is never a good position. You say "If the NDP is to get anywhere it will need a dynamic principled leader who will carry out a clear cut socialist program." Of course it has got somewhere as a reformist party--it is in office in three provinces and continues to retain the support of the working people in those provinces. Its leadership is an integral component of its program. As we agree the NDP will never make the socialist revolution and it would be something quite entirely unexpected and without precedent if it were, as the reformist party that it quite clearly is, to have a dynamic principled leader who will carry out a clear cut socialist program. "That day the Trotskyist movement closes up shop."

Yrs events in Portugal certainly are interesting. There is a dirth of solid information. Impreccor says nothing in its latest issue. Unfortunately I have not been seeing Rouge. Foley has some interesting articles in recent ICPs . I see you suggest that the SP will be an instrument for counter-revolution. The Lambertists according to Bob Sherwood have made an entry into the SP Foley in the June 9 issue ICP writes "While the SP's concessions to the MFA show that it cannot be trusted to defend democratic rights in Portugal it is also clear that the fight it waged for its own interests against demoagocic military rule has been decisive in maintaining the democratic opening in the country, and in this it deserves the support of all revolutionists." Do you recall Armando Duarte around the LSA years ago. Tonight he wants to go through some Portuguese papers that he gets and follows very closely. He tals me that there are developing workers councils in Portugal.

He dismisses both the CP and SP . If I am not mistaken Foley suggests in one of his articles that the councils are so much MFA demagogery. The silence of Impreccor is interesting.

I see you are thinking of going to the Winnipeg convention. You will see Gord and Rozzie Doctorow there--~~they are again~~ Oz is a delegate and they are taking a holiday in the process. Regula is alos a delegate. So I will be hearing all about you.

all the best

Ross

40 Homewood Ave #2311
Toronto

June 24, 1975

Mitch Podolak
120 Clare Ave
Winnipeg

Dear Mitch;

Enclosed are Xerox copies of my application to Explorations.

I myself think that it is not a matter of how to write up the project to get it accepted. Being who I am and the topic it has to be written quite frankly in my opinion. Although no doubt it could have been written better. The problem is ~~making~~ one of using connections. At anyrate I would be interested in seeing what you think and what you feel Weaver may be prepared to do.

It was good to see you again. I hope it will turn out to be a little more frequent. Gord will no doubt be bumping into you at the NDP convention. And from time to time it would be good if you managed to send in the odd bit of material for Forward. The comrades are doing a big job.

The Morgenthauer project is holding up. The vigil is growing and we are now getting a bunch of leaflets that they can hand out to the many enquirers. ~~It~~ We are thinking of the possibility of a really big rally with Crombie and others in the city hall square in about 10 days. We will see Has anyone picked up the vigil idea in Winnipeg?

comradely

Ross

Gord
they have a
house - possibly
they would be
pleased to put
you Ross + up at their place
Please the address

August 11 1975

40 Homewood Ave, Apt 2311
Toronto

Anne Dowson
UAW Camp

c/o George Burt UAW Edgett Center
P.O. Box 460
Port Elgin Ont

Dear Anne;

It was a real pleasure to receive your letter --now so long ago--July 21. It is hard to say this with any seriousness but I have not been able to take it up until now. And here I am not even punching a boss' clock. Of course I have many other bosses. And they keep me very busy. In fact I have finally managed to sit down to make this reply because in two days time if all goes according to plan I am commencing a relationship with a real boss and I will be even more pressed for time.

I have not been to the Port Elgin camp. But I spent one spring and summer on Lake Huron not far from there when I was in the army--Ipperrwahh I think it was called. As I recall Lake Huron in that area, it is very beautiful---with long gentle sloping beaches, fine sand and some dunes. And two special experiences---it was Spring after a dreary winter, all the more dreary as we raged to camp on old jammed parlour cars. When Spring came, spreading all through the marshes giving them a porcelain blue hue, were thousands of wild irises. The other experience was having the first swim of the year in the open air. Behind the dunes were all kinds of trapped ponds. ~~There were many ponds~~ . Protected from the cool wind, getting all the privileges of the sun on our bodies we dove into the water that had been heated up. It was quite deep, very clear, and there were frogs that were the biggest that I had seen. Ah, yes, there were the kettles at Kettle Point. Probably you have visited them.

Of course your conditions are much better than were mine. It is good to hear that the staff have such excellent conditions. What are your companions like? Are any of them sons or daughters of unionists, or are any of them radicals in their own right? Have you been able to get into any worthwhile discussions with them, or are any of them influenced by the discussions that take place among the unionists who come up to the camp. Do you have any books or pamphlets ~~that you~~ on labor and socialism that you are reading and can loan around. If you haven't got any there, get the family to bring some up. I am sure they are planning to visit you. In fact I think Lois was talking about working that out in a week end or so.

It is very good that you are able to get away from Unsworth for a while and particularly good that you are meeting, working, and playing with some persons your own age. I am sure that you are missed. Claire went off to visit her father but fortunately Lois was able and willing to go up and stay with Walter and Eleanor and Jeanette

I gather that Walter was pleased to be freed from the pressure of his sisters for a period and my impression is that Claire has ~~was~~ been able to modify a tendency that I think all of you share to some extent--- a tendency to give up on Walter--which would of course be absolutely ridiculous

I have been out to Poundmaker a couple of times recently. I am now ~~in~~ commencing to clear away the bush on the slope down from Lois' cabin. There are some beautiful clumps of birch, ~~apain~~ ^{as in} that you would not think there until you strabtte carve your way in. Sitting resting in one of the copses and contemplating a clump of cedars I finally thought that what I should build is a tree house. Perhaps we shall do so. Quite sensational eh what.

The job I report to on Wednesday which I would just as well keep quiet until I get integrated is working in a provincial government library up at the old Christie Street hospital where for years they hid away the pasked cases of world war I. It is the only geriatric ~~ma~~ library in the country I gather and I will be working in it along with one other persons who is a trained librarian for fifteen hours a week. That shoul give me enough bread to allow me to spend the reat of the time on the Socialist League.

In vite all the rest of the gang up to visit you on a weekend. I phoned to get your address and when I suggested that Unsworth should do that Jeanette had not heard of the idea but was very open to it. She said she wrote you a couple of days ago. Now write a letter to Walter.

affectionately

Ross

August 12, 1975
40 Homewood Ave
Toronto #2311

Flood, Vancouver

Dear Maurice;

That article on the SL in Labour Challenge has been a long time coming. I have heard rumours of it ever since we published Gord's article. A few days ago Brian B dropped in with some books and told me that there was a "little something" in the current issue which arrived a day or so later. I guess it has great political importance--probably timed to Oberlin as I gather our couple of mailings to the SWP branches caused some interest or concern. It is obviously written to those who want to be convinced that the SL is not as fast as they had anticipated is now slipping along the road to doom..violating all the past "positions" of the movement etc etc.

-LC?-
It is amusing that after ten issues of Forward the big scoop should be an article attempting to develop a class struggle position of immigration. And what a scoop it is. ... confusion confounded. Open door immigration a strictly tactical question suddenly becomes a "key point in the Marxist program." This is quite new. Have we taken Cuba to task, China--where did we ever take the USSR to task for not welcoming anyone and everyone inx inside their border--and it is a well known fact that they do not do so. I am looking forward to the next issue of LC carrying a front page streamerheadline protest against the Canadian government's actions against Mr Quang who if forced back to south Vietnam will face what he deserves--a firing squad. I haven't seen the Militant raising shit with those American workers who have been protesting the admission of S Vietnamese to areas in the country where there is considerable unemployment

Of course the world revolution develops unevenly. Should perchance we come to power in advance of the USA--I gather that the LSA-LSO ~~which~~ will ~~mean~~ end all control at the US-Canada border. For our part I would be for the mobilization of an armed workers defence guard with heavy reinforcement at all possible entry points--in preparation for enemy infiltration, preparatory to a counter revolutionary assault. But then these comrades are strong believers not in the class struggle but simultaneous spontaneous revolution

I don't think that the article itself is worth our while taking up--with its Doctorow "implies" crap. It is ludicrous to see our three point program turned into something "that blames the problems of capitalism on those who are its worst victims. It promotes the crude anti-foreign prejudices fostered by the ruling class itself." Our readers are not interested in and in fact haven't even heard of the LSA-LSO. As for the LSA/LSO and its sympathizers--that article inx tells them what they would like to hear and doesn't at all open up a discussion...it isn't meant to.

It would be the worst thing that could happen to the SL for it to turn its attention to the LSA and RMG. We broke from them--and don't want to

be associated with them. ~~That's the way~~ We are publishing our own paper to differentiate ourselves from them and to uphold the banner of Trotskyism from being hopelessly compromised by their idiocies. I don't mind at all that they denounce us...and on the grounds that they do so with this article it in my mind make them appear ridiculous.

It is amusing that Ian Angus carries the ball. It is a joke in the small left circles that the LSA is leaderless. Young, Riddell and company don't write, don't speak in public. At the Spanish solidarity picket here Grant Hargrave represented the LSA and so it goes everywhere. ~~It's the way it is~~ The leaders of the LSA appear to flaunt their status ~~in the narrow circles~~ only in ~~in the~~ narrow circles of executive meetings in far away Belgium or France.

I am hesitant to comment on your article Gay Liberation, Where it's At. It seems to me to be very much directed to those who are actually involved in the movement--a very much in article. I am glad to ~~see~~ see the heavy weight you give to civil rights angle. Sometime you will have to explain to me the value of the demand Abolish all Age of Consent Laws. I have not seen this raised as a demand in regards to heterosexual relations. It seems to me that all it does is play into the hands of the worst bigots -- people who think that gays are always on the make and concentrating their efforts on the corruption of the young and innocent. ~~XX~~ I read your article in a previous issue and remain unconvinced as to the value of this as a demand of gay liberation. I see you say there has not been rounded discussion -- however I am sure that it has raised bounds along the line of my reaction and when you have time you might clarify this for me. I gather that you are opposed to a women's caucus in the coalition. It seems to me to be very good that Lesbians participate in the coalition along with their participating in the larger women's umbrella organizations. I doubt that you would be able to hold them in the coalition if you deprived them of the right to form a caucus. It might prove in life to be superfluous but I would tend to let life prove that. What has been the reaction to that part RMG meets MCC. Is the RMG such an issue. I wonder.

But I must close off. I start a job tomorrow--15 hours a week--just enough money to sustain myself and let me help with the store and paper. I will be one of two persons in what I understand is the only library on geriatrics in the country, the other is a qualified librarian. I hope I hold it--shouldn't be difficult but I am wondering about my past.

Will write later.

Comradely

Ross

Tuesday
August 14, 1975
Poundmaker

(Central office - S.L.)

CO

Dear comrades;

With the withdrawal of comrades Mitchell and Doohoo from the camp it is necessary to make some interim arrangements at least until the Labor Day weekend-September 1, 2 and 3.

When the comrades pulled out they turned the books over to my keeping. It would appear that they had no intention of going into the CP to work out a suitable arrangement and at anyrate I understand that the Oberlin gatherings have reduced the CO operation to a skeleton, and it would have been difficult for them to have worked out anything with anyone.

I have given the books to comrade Martin to be deposited with the CO. It will be noted that there are two postdated cheques to be handled. According to comrades Mitchell and Doohoo the books are in good order and self explainable. I understand that with the cancellation of the last weekend and the limited operation over the entire summer that there will be a deficit. ~~Regarding the deficit~~ From a few words I have with comrade Mitchell I gather we owe him a relatively small sum but which may be important to him as of course he has not worked this summer at his trade. I advanced funds for a fireplace for the lodge which now stands unfinished.

Before he left on Sunday comrade Martin in effect closed up the camp with my agreement. We have left the power on as the deep freezer is loaded with meat and other perishables. He defrosted it and got it in first class condition and the goods in it will be in good order for the Labor Day weekend if not beyond with no further attention. The pump has been turned off and the sight of the camp put in good order -- windows closed down etc etc. I have put a sign across the entrance into the lodge area which says that the camp is closed down and persons concerned should come up the road to where I am staying.

Two comrades from Cleveland (Robert Bresnahan and companion) arrived Sunday night. They struck me as mature comrades and I have allowed them to use one of the sleeping cabins and the kitchen ~~kitchen~~ in the lodge to prepare their own food. This is creating no problems and I will collect the normal fee from them when they leave and turn it over to you. Should more persons come, my intention generally is to turn them away. It is not my intention to run the camp. There is only one weekend ahead before the Labor Day weekend and there should be no difficulties in continuing on this basis. Comrade Martin has told me that he will be out here next weekend and it is probable that he could meet what we can expect.

I intend to stay here until the Labor Day weekend and I do not see any need for the CO to make any interim arrangements. However if it is intended to go ahead with a Labor Day weekend it will be necessary to make several arrangements to carry it off. There are several comrades who have some acquaintance with the camp operation--- Harry Paine (Toronto) Steve Harding (Ottawa) Brian (Toronto) Zane Boyd (Toronto) etc. It would be necessary to have one of them come out on the Friday to make the necessary purchasing for the meals--to assess what has to be added to what is already on hand in the freezer etc. and then later some one to do general administration.

From a phone conversation with Phil C I gather that the outside speaker for the Labor Day weekend has not materialized and if I understood him correctly he suggested

the possibility of using me on the history of the movement. Aside from the fact that there are whole areas that I have not been able to pursue from here (Comrade Shugalo has been unable to pursue further what he was doing for me, I haven't been able to reach George Hill in Gravenhurst, comrade Fischer hasn't responded to my Saskatoon enquiries and Birney who is more important than I thought is in Toronto) I do not think that the topic is suitable at this time. Besides I intend to be in Toronto over that weekend and several days later looking for a place to ~~stay~~ stay and for employment.

.....

A note for Darrell..... It would be good if by the Labor Day weekend we were able to present the various components of the camp their tax bills. The bulk of the taxes of course falls on the comrades who have structures on their land...the camp itself with the lodge, Vic Hugh and his A frame and Lois Badard's cottage. You can send Murray Dozon a bill along to Lois Badard. Steve Harding is buying Dave Berrell's lot but we will have to absorb that. (By the way I assume that you did not pay anything to Dave Berrell on his lot--I will talk to you about this when next in town. You will recall that the camp owes Vic Hugh something like \$84--you will find this in the books. It would be good if we got whatever this income amounts to into the accounts as soon as possible. Both Lois and Vic have been asking me about this.

comradely

Ros & Dozon

One of our Ontario Lambertists has just won the nomination for one of the Toronto NDP constituency campaigns. Yes we have a Lambertist operation here. In Ontario it tends to be liquidationist in the NDP. Its main operation is in Montreal ~~where~~ where it seems to me it has made some good trade union connections. The Healyite operation appears ~~in~~ in Montreal appears to have withered on the vine.

Forward

The Socialist League ~~seems~~ seems to me to be consolidating very ~~well~~ well. We are doing some modest recruitment. We are rebuilding modest connections in the NDP and our press is getting known ~~there~~ there and winning some respect. The comrades wanted me to go on staff however I insisted that new elements had to seize the responsibility. I have a part time job (two days a week) working in a medical library and have set up a bookstore operation which the comrades service right in the heart of downtown Toronto--so we have the biggest public face of all the Trotskyists. We carry the press of all the tendencies.

I have no complaints except that I am appalled by the position ~~that the SWP--~~ and of course the LSA, is taking on Portugal.

I hope this note finds you well and in a position to make a worthwhile contribution to Trotskyism.

with comradely regards

Ross Dawson

Handwritten letter

Sat. Aug. 30/75

Vancouver

Dear Maurice (F.)

I am unable to take the time for sometime to write you on Portugal.

I agree with RMGer Joe Flexer's charge at an LSA forum a few weeks ago that the LSA – SWP position puts them close to the camp of the counter-revolution – that is where Soares is!

There is no doubt in my mind that the Mandel current is far more correct – in our last issue of course we agreed with the LCI contribution – re-examine it! I enclose the Inprecor (*English-language F.I. publication –ed.*) as a substitute. I understand the LCI and PST (Soc Wor Py) fused

Fraternally
Ross

Turn Toward Socialism

During its first two years, the government has introduced legislation such as Mincome, Pharmacare, minimum wage increases, etc., which has improved the living conditions of many people in the province. While most government bills have been supported by all the capitalist parties, it is nevertheless important that it is an NDP government which has introduced these additions and extensions to the welfare state.

At the same time, there has been considerable concern within the NDP over the relationship of the government and the party. Lack of communication between the government and the party, the failure of the government to carry through on its commitments to the party and the lack of accountability to our policy have been the focus of party concern since the government was elected.

But is accountability the central question?

Accountability to party policy is certainly critical. If party policy is not translated into government legislation, and if the party is treated merely as a pressure group and election machine, the NDP, which has provided the only democratic socialist voice in B.C., cannot help but be weakened. And a weak party, in turn, ensures that the energy and base required to support socialist measures will be lacking.

Accountability is not, however, the central issue. The fact is that where our policy has proposed liberal reforms and extensions to the capitalist welfare state, the government has carried through, with the support of the other parties. But democratic socialism means

more than a modern welfare state or state capitalism. It substitutes for top-down capitalist institutions a new democracy in which people have real power over all aspects of their lives and in which production and distribution of goods and services are directed toward human needs rather than profits.

We all know that socialism cannot be introduced in one, two or three sittings of the B.C. legislature. But the central question is that of direction — whether government actions are weakening capitalism and substituting in its place elements of a new socialist society, or whether they are curbing minor abuses (while leaving the major abuse), extending welfare state measures (but not giving people real power over their lives) and reinforcing capitalism itself.

Is there a place in a socialist scheme for measures to insure "adequate profits" for corporate landlords, land developers and resource companies? For development plans undertaken without due consideration for their social and environmental effects? For public investments that yield private profits for resource companies? For organizing and sending private B.C. companies to make contacts in foreign markets? For imposing contracts, picketing restrictions and joint councils on trade unions and removing weapons they require? And what does it mean when Crown Corporations (Cancel, B.C. Hydro, etc.) are run the same way as private capitalist firms?

We should examine whether measures of this type lay the groundwork for a new socialist society, or whether they strengthen

the existing system and represent, at best, state capitalism. These are questions to which, at this point, all democratic socialists should give careful consideration.

Many central planks of our party policy, on the other hand, do provide a clear socialist direction:

- making serious inroads into the power and rights of capitalist enterprises: by requiring output and investment plans from firms for the purpose of provincial economic planning by removing the ability of firms to shut down their operations.
- introducing social ownership into areas ill-served by capitalist monopolies (e.g. food distribution, housing, communications) and ensuring that people receive all the benefits of new dynamic industries (e.g. social ownership of industries processing our natural resources).
- changing the balance of power between workers and employers by removing restrictions on picketing; by providing for company books to be open to workers; by breaking down authoritarian relations in industry through worker-representatives, elected by and responsible to workers, on the boards of directors of crown corporations and on decision-making bodies in resource companies.

- recognizing and combatting sexism: by creating a real universal program of child care which frees women to work and participate fully in social life; by affirmative action plans which place the onus of sexist discrimination on employers by a Ministry of Women's Rights which has the responsibility and power to fight sexism.

- providing the basis for a new recognition of our relation to and dependence upon the environment: by creating an Environment Ministry which has overriding authority in all matters affecting the environment and from which approval on matters affecting the environment must be received from all other departments.

- introducing and advancing the principle of democratic control in all areas (e.g. education, municipal

government, etc.)

Adherence to party policy in these areas (which introduce significant structural changes) would do much to move British Columbia in the direction of a democratic-socialist society. It would set in motion forces which lead to the weakening of capitalist institutions by providing a new socialist framework.

But these are the very areas in which the government has not moved or where it has done so only in a token manner. And unless the government changes its style, involves the party, and works with peoples' movements to develop mass support for its programs, it will not be able to move in a socialist direction.

We are concerned that unless the government embarks upon a program of truly socialist change it will lose the support of people who endorsed our party program. And socialist change cannot be effected by the government alone. Unless it is backed up by the socialist movement itself, organized in defense of the implementation of our central policies, our government may continue to isolate itself, to water down our policy, and be forced to back down before establishment pressures. No mass involvement is required to follow the capitalist road, but a government cannot follow the socialist road by itself.

The past two years have seen our government drift into a pattern of governing that does not incorporate the core of our policy nor involve our membership. Nor has it embarked upon those socialist changes that can kindle the enthusiasm of large numbers of ordinary people, on the job, in the schools, or in their communities.

There is a choice now: the government can move in the direction of socialism by drawing upon the resources of the party to organize mass support behind our socialist program. Or, it can attempt to rest on its welfare state measures, engage in PR campaigns to persuade a passive and unconvinced electorate, and treat those in the

party who raise accountability to our socialist program as enemies.

We believe that in the interests of our party and in recognition of the years of effort that have gone into the formation of an NDP government, the time has now come for the government to turn towards socialism and to work with the party in the process of building a new socialist B.C.

Members of the Provincial Executive

Ron Anderson
Alan Artibise
Terri Ash
Hans Brown
Melodie Corrigan
John Gates
Roger Howard
Mike Lebowitz
Sven Robinson
Harold Steves
Hilda Thomas
Sharon Yandle



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FORWARD, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto

September 27, 1975

GREETINGS FROM THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE TO THE DEMONSTRATION TO DEFEND THE LIVES OF THE POLITICAL PRISONERS IN SPAIN

Comrades:

Solidarity with the victims of the fascist Franco regime in Spain! The world wide campaign to halt the execution of the eleven Spanish anti-fascist militants must be carried far and wide by the workers' movement in order to stay the executioner's blood-stained hand, the same executioner whose career began with turning Spain into a giant abattoir for previous generations who dared struggle for freedom.

We in Canada who have witnessed the War Measures Act with its sweeping violation of democratic rights, backed by armed soldiers, are no strangers to political repression albeit on a much less severe level. Nor are we ignorant of the suppression of the national rights of our native peoples and the Québécois. Our solidarity with the people of the oppressed Basque nation and with the oppressed classes in Spain is all the more urgent.

The Franco regime, in its death throes, is resisting the historical tide of change with a renewed violence and ferocity. Faced with the continuing rise of working class and popular democratic resistance, with fissures in the army, with the example of the Portuguese revolution which has no doubt inspired the new generation of workers, the regime is determined to mete out the harshest punishment in its desperation. Experience has shown that when the workers' movement acts in a concerted way, when it stands united against the enemies of the workers, then it can hold back the slaughter and eventually topple even the harshest of regimes. But when solidarity is lacking and there is insufficient response from the workers' movement, we suffer the catastrophe of Chile.

International solidarity against the repression of the Spanish militants! Self-determination for the Basque nation! Solidarity with the Spanish revolution!

40 Homewood Ave #2311
Toronto

Sept 29, 1975

Peter Van Harten
4084 Stephanie St
Burlington, Ont.

Dear Peter;

The name of the chap that I think it would be worth your while to try to arrange an extensive session with is : Bill Walsh

171 Davis Ave, m Hamilton.

He is a former trade union leader in the Communist Party. He broke with the Salsberg tendency I think some years back. He probably has a more clear insight into the Hamilton labor movement than anyone else. Recently he has been working as a labor rep on labor boards. My impression is that he is an astute and principled negotiator. For a period he actively identified himself with the Waffle. ~~...I think he~~ opposed those elements who are for a breakaway from the internationals and the setting up of Canadian unions--believing that it is necessary to fight for Canadian autonomy within the internationals. Of course he will be a controversial figure in Hamilton labor--what Stalinists there are around will have it in for him. My impression that he has a lot of weight in certain circles in the Cdn union leadership who favor a more militant policy---I know that for a whole period he gave detailed and in my opinion excellent advice to the Falconbridge Mine Mill local--fighting old anti steel hangovers and favoring cooperative actions which he hoped would lead to joint action and possible unity.

I would be pleased to write him a note introducing you and suggesting a session. I have had no relationship with him for about two years--his son remains in the old LSA from which I split. I do not know ~~what~~ his opinion about the issues at dispute ~~between the LSA and the Waffle~~ and his reaction to family pressures. Of course it would not be difficult for you to arrange something yourself. You can easily hear about him and find an ~~excuse~~ excuse to meet him. I leave this up to you.

Some books and pamphlets worth reading;

I wrote a small pamphlet which I think stands up well except for the question of Canadian union autonomy. It takes a correct principled position but I would reconsider the matter now from a tactical point of view. I am enclosing the article that I wrote on the last CLC convention. This question was the overriding one at that convention. I will enclose the pamphlet as you will be unable to purchase now. It is to all effects and purposes out of print.

There is no one work that I would say is a really comprehensive view of Cdn labor problems. I am looking forward to Laxer's new book. But here are a few titles worth your time and energy;

Canadian labor and politics--Hurovitz---U of T Press-paper.

The Trade Union Movement in Canada 1827-1959 C Lipton-I think this is in a paperback New Canadian Press

No power greater--BC labor--P. Phillips-- BC Federation of Labor
Times of Trouble-labor unrest and industrial conflict in Canada -1900-66
by S.M. Jamieson Queen's printer--information Canada

International Unionism-a study in Cdn-Amer relations, Crispo- Mc Graw-Hill
Quebec -Only the beginning--manifestoes of Common Front- New Press

Years of Hard Labor--Lazarus--OFL Publication

other books relevant and worth reading---

Teamsters Power--Farrell Dobbs

Teamsters Rebellion--Dobbs

Labor's Fiant Step --Preiss

John L Lewsi--Alinsky-----Random House-Vintage--paperback

a man who developed a powerful style as a writer on labor--also on revolutionary socialist politics that would be worth your while reading--Notebook of an Agitator- James P. Cannon. paper

I hope this information is useful to you

sincerely

Ross Dowson

Two Manifestoes



For a Radical,
Revitalized NDP



Turn Toward
Socialism



PRESENTED TO THE ONTARIO NDP CONVENTION
SUDBURY - SEPTEMBER 1975
AND TO THE BC - NDP CONVENTION
SEPTEMBER 1975



These manifestoes were reproduced in
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discussion and analysis of the labor and
socialist struggle on the Canadian and
international arena.

A FORWARD PUBLICATION

For a Radical, Revitalized NDP

We, the undersigned members of the New Democratic Party, are deeply troubled about our party; its direction, its low morale, its apparent inability to persuade and excite people.

We have just witnessed in the past Federal election a decrease in our popular vote, and worse, an erosion of our vote in some working class areas. We call these defeats.

We reject the explanation that our recent electoral defeats were failures of technique or due to shortages of funds. We have examples to disprove such explanations. These are only a few: Spadina and St. Paul's had far more funds and paid workers this time, but our vote plunged. Trinity had virtually no money or organization: the vote decreased, but no more than it did in ridings with well-financed and — organized campaigns. York South's campaign could hardly have been improved on in terms of organization, literature, numbers of workers and signs, and we all know the sad result.

We know that it isn't a satisfactory answer to say that large numbers of people were so unnerved by minority government and so frightened by the threat of a wage and price freeze that they decided to play it safe and change their votes from N.D.P. to the presumed majority party. For one thing, no one has done the sort of in-depth analysis that would show this was so. But even if it were the case, wouldn't it prove that we had failed miserably to give the voters positive reasons for voting N.D.P.?

We fear, however, that easy an-

swers will be found and accepted for our electoral defeats, that many members will shrug them off as mere "set backs" or the result of dirty tricks by the opposition or black outs by the press. And if that happens we'll continue to make the same mistakes: trying to win with catchy slogans, spending money we don't have, concentrating on the issue the press and opposition are pushing, and relying heavily on election campaigns to gain ground.

Suppose we were to win large numbers of seats through the use of catchy slogans, great sums of money, brilliant organization, lawn signs for every positive voter. Would it mean that we could govern? Winning that way might really amount to losing — losing whatever integrity and principles we have.

There is clearly a difference between government and power. To have power — to govern effectively — we must have a "mass base." We must persuade large numbers of people of what we stand for, and we must be sure of what we stand for. Otherwise, we may form a government without power. We have seen examples of such governments. The Barrett Government had to dilute their Land Commission Act because the majority was not behind it, knew nothing about it beforehand, and therefore allowed big business to stampede public opinion against it. To give an extreme example, Allende was murdered, his government overthrown. The mass base must be established before an election; after may be too late.

Persuading people to vote N.D.P. IS important, but it is not enough. Persuading people to be New Democrats is a lot tougher. And it is

not the same kind of job the opposition is faced with. Liberals and Conservatives can gain or maintain power by hustling votes: most people already know of or are at least prepared to tolerate any legislative programmes these parties want to introduce. But we in the N.D.P. have endorsed policies that would entail basic changes in the organization of society. Do we still intend to bring about such changes? Are we still radical? If so, it will not be possible to sneak up on several million people! We must confront Ontarians with a socialist alternative, encourage debate and understanding of our policies.

Where are we going wrong? Are we failing to get through to the voters? Or are we getting through to them and then being rejected?

We think both answers are partly correct. Often we don't get through to the voters. Let's stop hoping that the public media will come around to helping us. The day the media favours us will be the day we've either had the revolution or have sold out. Sometimes we do get through to the voters — but too often what we get through to them with is so incomplete, so moderate or watered down that it can scarcely seem a compelling alternative.

The following is an outline of some problem areas about which discussion would be helpful. It is not intended to be comprehensive; the authors are aware of numerous omissions. It is our hope that this paper might begin discussion leading to a radical, revitalized New Democratic Party.

1. The tendency towards moderation, becoming at times the rallying cry of the Party.

Sometimes this tendency is heard as "seeking the middle ground," sometimes as "aiming at the middle class vote" or at everyone. But the "middle ground" is something we arrive at after debate and action, after discarding various alternatives — not something to be aimed at. And trying to gain the middle class vote is fine — as long as we

are trying to gain it with a socialist programme. Unfortunately, that's not what we see happening.

Where we have tough, radical policies, shouldn't we unveil them now? And where we haven't, isn't it time we did? It's not very honest, and it's not even good strategy to wait till we've "won" office. The old-line parties have usurped the field when it comes to moderation. In fact, our Party is often in danger of their outflanking us on the left! The Canadian electorate plainly does not need another moderate party. Does it need a strong left? We think so, but the only way to know for sure is to try. At the least, we haven't much to lose: we're standing still now.

2. The alteration by small elected groups within the Party of policy decided at convention.

For instance, the last Federal Convention said categorically "NO" to the MacKenzie Valley Pipeline — not "if" as was stated during the last Federal campaign.

Do elected groups within the Party not trust the membership? And if not, is it because the membership doesn't deserve to be trusted, doesn't mean or understand what it says?

We realize that we can't muzzle those we elect and we recognize that new situations arise for which we have no precise policies but which must be dealt with. We therefore think the solution, if any, lies in being far more careful in choosing members of committees and candidates for public office: they must, above all, be people whom we trust and who trust us. The same people should not be elected time and again to committees and offices until they are regarded and regard themselves as permanent office-holders and indispensable. More members should be given (and take) the opportunity and responsibility of holding elected

office within the Party. Also, there should be more communication — dialogue — among us between conventions.

3. The eagerness of many Party members to seek out "stars" to run as candidates — that is, people with "a name" who may attract publicity in the capitalist press, and whether or not they have a long-term commitment to the N.D.P. (or socialism) or any known commitment at all.

By definition, such people cannot represent us — or anyone — and we have no basis for trusting them. We think that the choice of "star" candidates is symptomatic — of a cop-out from the hard work of persuading the public, on a one-to-one basis, of the value of our policies.

If we have riding associations which aren't well enough organized that they can themselves produce sound, reliable candidates with roots in those ridings, should we seriously consider not running candidates there at the present time — and instead get busy helping those riding associations to develop?

4. The fact that the greatest activity of this Party revolves around election campaigns.

Most of our energy, talent and money is directed towards election campaigns. Many of our members and supporters are completely inactive except at election time. If elections continue to be the culmination of our efforts, we must consider ourselves failures!

5. Feelings of alienation by many women in the Party.

We think that this is in part due to a lack of understanding of the historical causes of women's unequal status and oppression under capitalism. We note too, though, that the behaviour and attitudes of many male Party members are not consistent with the declared philosophy of the New Democratic Party.

That we, with our ringing phrases about equality and an end to exploitation, appeal to fewer women voters than men is a fact deserving analysis.

6. Our lack of appeal to working class people, including trade unionists.

Our problem is not that we are dominated by trade unionists! Instead, either our interests are not coinciding or we are not communicating. A socialist programme does not seem to appeal to trade union spokesmen, but it is our contention that trade unionists, like almost all workers, would respond in time to a clear, thorough socialist programme.

7. The apparent growth of bureaucracy within our Party.

It doesn't win more votes. It doesn't — despite the energy expended in clever campaigns and unusual prizes — gain more members. Nor educate. Nor result in better policy. Nor encourage rank-and-file members to run as candidates. Nor lighten the work-load of active members. Nor result in better organization in those ridings which most need assistance. But it sure costs money! In what way is it worth it?

8. The chief roles of the leader and president as house leader and administrator respectively.

The work of our leader in the House is frequently given no publicity outside the House. In any event, the real action is mostly outside the House.

Couldn't others take over some of the responsibilities of the leader and president? We have plenty of talent in this Party, inside and outside the House.

We suggest that both our leader and president, who must be among our most articulate spokesmen, spend a greater share of their time in the ridings, with rank-and-file members, local media, citizens' groups.

- 9 The fact that many people today

enter, leave, re-enter, quit, our Party.

We wonder if our Party has the honesty and integrity it once had. We believe that it used to require a major decision to join — a decision about, for example, the nature of capitalism, the need for social welfare measures, the possibility of spreading responsibility for government and decision-making among greater numbers of people, the value of economic planning, the limits of freedom. We admit that we may be merely nostalgic but in any event, we'd like to see a party that requires a major decision before joining.

10. The lack of political discussion and analysis within this Party.

When is the last time you went to a constituency meeting where you heard discussion of politics, political issues, political philosophy — as opposed to organizational debate or speeches? Is it correct to assume that because members' hearts are in the right places that we can gloss over the substance of politics and deal almost exclusively with organization and finances? In many ridings the only time there is any political discussion is when convention resolutions are voted on. (And why so many resolutions which repeat or contradict existing Party policy?) What about the basic questions, such as the following:

What is social democracy or democratic socialism? Are either of these something different from socialism? Do we have a philosophy that holds our policies together? If so, is our philosophy one no other party or organization can provide?

Does "selective intervention" in the economy make any sense? Capital is mobile and can, presumably, flee from the economic sectors intervened in. Should we be talking about a planned economy instead?

What is the value of public

ownership if the workers in publicly owned industries have no direct say in their operation?

We see too often the tragedy of old members — some from C.C.F. days — losing faith, and of new members losing patience. And not primarily because of electoral defeats, but because of the direction our Party is going in and its apparent silence between elections.

If the New Democratic Party continues its drift towards moderation at elections and conventions — which has the effect of confusing us with liberals — we shall disintegrate.

We believe that there is now a vacuum in Canadian politics, that this vacuum is on the left. The New Democratic Party can still fill that space, if we act now.

In signing this document we make no claim to having all the answers to problems besetting the Party. We call on all New Democrats to engage in a process of self-examination with a view to making our Party the powerful force it should be in Ontario politics. We consider it vital that the N.D.P. engage many more thousands of people in the political process — in the unions, in the work places, in our communities.

Let us be clear. We regard the New Democratic Party as still the only legitimate political expression of the economic and social aspirations of Canada's working people. It is our wish to make it an effective one. We respect the constitution of the Party and the rights of all other members; we do not challenge the leadership or wish to constitute ourselves as an organized caucus. What we want is that serious New Democrats join us in debating serious problems in a serious way.

To this end we invite you to take this paper to your riding association for discussion.

We intend to publish this paper or another along these lines in the New Democrat.

If you have any comments or ideas on where we might go from here, or if you wish to add your name to ours, write to Mary Boyce, 60 Tranby Ave., Toronto.

Turn Toward Socialism

During its first two years, the government has introduced legislation such as Mincome, Pharmacare, minimum wage increases, etc., which has improved the living conditions of many people in the province. While most government bills have been supported by all the capitalist parties, it is nevertheless important that it is an NDP government which has introduced these additions and extensions to the welfare state.

At the same time, there has been considerable concern within the NDP over the relationship of the government and the party. Lack of communication between the government and the party, the failure of the government to carry through on its commitments to the party and the lack of accountability to our policy have been the focus of party concern since the government was elected.

But is accountability the central question?

Accountability to party policy is certainly critical. If party policy is not translated into government legislation, and if the party is treated merely as a pressure group and election machine, the NDP, which has provided the only democratic socialist voice in B.C., cannot help but be weakened. And a weak party, in turn, ensures that the energy and base required to support socialist measures will be lacking.

Accountability is not, however, the central issue. The fact is that where our policy has proposed liberal reforms and extensions to the capitalist welfare state, the government has carried through, with the support of the other parties. But democratic socialism means

more than a modern welfare state or state capitalism. It substitutes for top-down capitalist institutions a new democracy in which people have real power over all aspects of their lives and in which production and distribution of goods and services are directed toward human needs rather than profits.

We all know that socialism cannot be introduced in one, two or three sittings of the B.C. legislature. But the central question is that of direction — whether government actions are weakening capitalism and substituting in its place elements of a new socialist society, or whether they are curbing minor abuses (while leaving the major abuse), extending welfare state measures (but not giving people real power over their lives) and reinforcing capitalism itself.

Is there a place in a socialist scheme for measures to insure "adequate profits" for corporate landlords, land developers and resource companies? For development plans undertaken without due consideration for their social and environmental effects? For public investments that yield private profits for resource companies? For organizing and sending private B.C. companies to make contacts in foreign markets? For imposing contracts, picketing restrictions and joint councils on trade unions and removing weapons they require? And what does it mean when Crown Corporations (Cancel, B.C. Hydro, etc.) are run the same way as private capitalist firms?

We should examine whether measures of this type lay the groundwork for a new socialist society, or whether they strengthen

the existing system and represent, at best, state capitalism. These are questions to which, at this point, all democratic socialists should give careful consideration.

Many central planks of our party policy, on the other hand, do provide a clear socialist direction:

- making serious inroads into the power and rights of capitalist enterprises: by requiring output and investment plans from firms for the purpose of provincial economic planning by removing the ability of firms to shut down their operations.
- introducing social ownership into areas ill-served by capitalist monopolies (e.g. food distribution, housing, communications) and ensuring that people receive all the benefits of new dynamic industries (e.g. social ownership of industries processing our natural resources).
- changing the balance of power between workers and employers by removing restrictions on picketing; by providing for company books to be open to workers; by breaking down authoritarian relations in industry through worker-representatives, elected by and responsible to workers, on the boards of directors of crown corporations and on decision-making bodies in resource companies.

- recognizing and combatting sexism: by creating a real universal program of child care which frees women to work and participate fully in social life; by affirmative action plans which place the onus of sexist discrimination on employers by a Ministry of Women's Rights which has the responsibility and power to fight sexism.

- providing the basis for a new recognition of our relation to and dependence upon the environment: by creating an Environment Ministry which has overriding authority in all matters affecting the environment and from which approval on matters affecting the environment must be received from all other departments.

- introducing and advancing the principle of democratic control in all areas (e.g. education, municipal

government, etc.)

Adherence to party policy in these areas (which introduce significant structural changes) would do much to move British Columbia in the direction of a democratic-socialist society. It would set in motion forces which lead to the weakening of capitalist institutions by providing a new socialist framework.

But these are the very areas in which the government has not moved or where it has done so only in a token manner. And unless the government changes its style, involves the party, and works with peoples' movements to develop mass support for its programs, it will not be able to move in a socialist direction.

We are concerned that unless the government embarks upon a program of truly socialist change it will lose the support of people who endorsed our party program. And socialist change cannot be effected by the government alone. Unless it is backed up by the socialist movement itself, organized in defense of the implementation of our central policies, our government may continue to isolate itself, to water down our policy, and be forced to back down before establishment pressures. No mass involvement is required to follow the capitalist road, but a government cannot follow the socialist road by itself.

The past two years have seen our government drift into a pattern of governing that does not incorporate the core of our policy nor involve our membership. Nor has it embarked upon those socialist changes that can kindle the enthusiasm of large numbers of ordinary people, on the job, in the schools, or in their communities.

There is a choice now: the government can move in the direction of socialism by drawing upon the resources of the party to organize mass support behind our socialist program. Or, it can attempt to rest on its welfare state measures, engage in PR campaigns to persuade a passive and unconvinced electorate, and treat those in the

party who raise accountability to our socialist program as enemies.

We believe that in the interests of our party and in recognition of the years of effort that have gone into the formation of an NDP government, the time has now come for the government to turn towards socialism and to work with the party in the process of building a new socialist B.C.

Members of the Provincial Executive

Ron Anderson

Alan Artibise

Terri Ash

Hans Brown

Melodie Corrigan

John Gates

Roger Howard

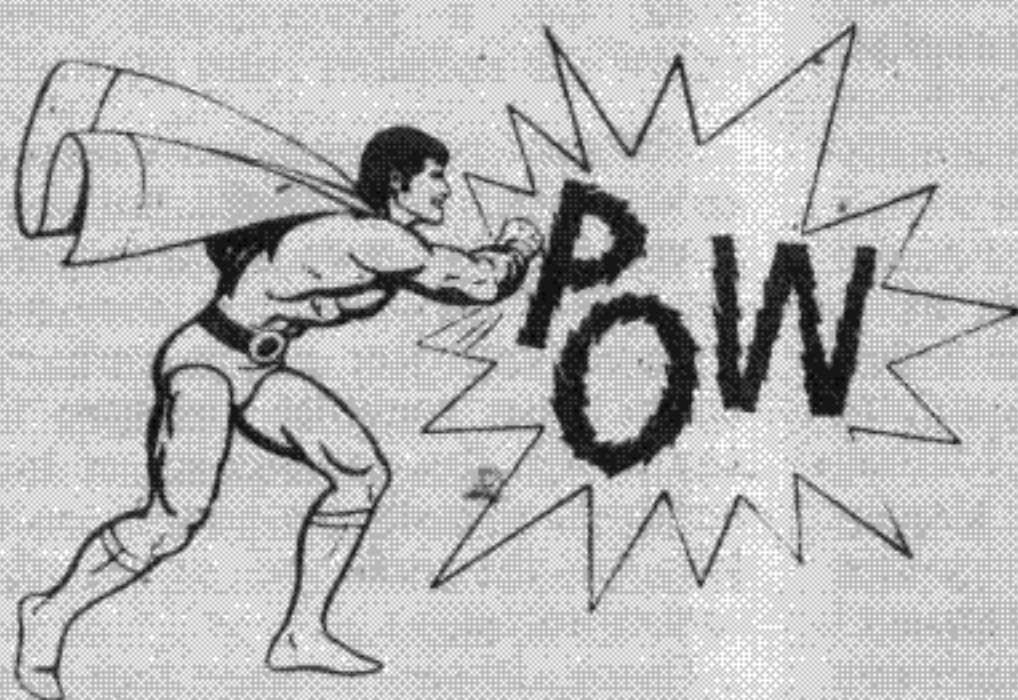
Mike Lebowitz

Sven Robinson

Harold Steves

Hilda Thomas

Sharon Yandle



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FORWARD, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto

Forward Books
53 Gerrard Street West
Toronto

October 7; ~~1975~~ 1975

Intercontinentatl
attention Joe Hansen

Dear Joe:

Sorry for the delay in sending you this material that you requested. Our files are somewhat chaotic and I had to go elsewhere to obtain a copy . Of course you will retranslate it--our translations are in all probability not very good--the product of a Portuguese worker whose English is poor and of whose Portuguese I am not sure--and myself--whose Portuguese is almost non existant and whose English is poor.

I would suppose that you have someone on top of the first nations congress of the workers' commissions-- I see vida mundial 2-10-75 covered it

I am keeping up with our condition these days--I have a two day a week job in the only library in Canada on geriatrics. The only problem is that I am too busy to look into the material that I handle

Best regards to you and Reba

with socialist greetings

Ross Dowson

October 14, 1975

Forward Books
53 Gerrard Street West
Toronto

Monthly Review

Dear Harry Braverman:

Recent events in Portugal have re-inspired an ~~old~~old Portuguese revolutionary friend of mine. He wants to translate under my editing the Albert Einstein essay Why Socialism went out by MR years back.

I am wondering if you have not already translated it and have it in a circulatable form for what I understand is your very good Latin American market.

And if you have not translated or published it---I suggested that you possibly have copyrighted it. If this is so would you give him permission to publish it. His intention is to circulate it free or at most get printing costs out of it. And of course he would be pleased to promote Monthly Review on the publication.

Thanks for your attention

fraternally

Ross Lowson

I thought your essay in a recent issue of MR on work was excellent

Forward
53 Gerrard Street West
Toronto

October 21, 1975

John Boyle
19 Ontario Street #5
St Catharines

Dear John Boyle

As one of the editors and the author of the review of the Barry Lord Book, your note was turned over to me.

I assume that you wish it to be published in our letters to the editor column, which of course we are quite prepared to do. However I must say that I would regret our publishing it--in its present form--primarily because--speaking for myself--my respect for you as an artist.

Yes, we plead guilty to not writing you and asking you permission to reproduce your sketch of Lord, which we lifted from your article in This Magazine. That this did not enter the mind of our layout contributors is regrettable--but it does not in my opinion constitute "a great step backward" for Forward. If any thought had gone into this process we would have written you asking your permission to reproduce it--which I assume you would have granted. If you had asked for a fee we would have paid without question. As you probably have guessed Forward has absolutely no one on staff and pays nothing at all for the various contributions that it reproduces. As an impoverished and voluntary operation I would like to think that a letter over your name in Forward's pages would not make so much of this not unimportant but by no means giant step backward.

I would also regret that you would appear in print as feeling it necessary in upholding the fee schedule of CARO to tell our readers that it is in no way connected with the Canadian Liberation Movement. Insofar as CLM might be connected with CARO in respect to winning fees for artists I would say that would be to their credit.

I would hope that any comment on my article and circumstances around its publication, such as misuse of your drawing, would also contain some useful comments on the content of the article. After all that is the really important matter --and I would like to know your opinion whether for publication or not.

With regards to your 30/9/75 note I wait your instruction

sincerely

Rose Dawson

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I have been delayed by the job I have and a few efforts to
make some contact through the election campaign now well
underway.
Ross Dowson

(handwritten letter)

Dec. 20/75
R. Dowson #2311
40 Homewood Ave.
Toronto

Dr. Henry Morgentaler

Many winged phrases and words of concord and solidarity have been written down thro the age-long struggles of humankind in honor and solidarity with such persons of integrity, honesty and militancy as yourself.

I could repeat them all – all are appropriate to be addressed to you this holiday season.

With great respect and concord

Ross Dowson

(handwritten letter)

Dec. 20/75

Elizabeth Lawry
OFCA TV Ontario

Dear Ms Lawry

I am not a TV watcher. However circumstances have been such over the past week so that I have seen much more of the TV than usual.

Channel 19 is the only channel that one dares leave on with any confidence that a program will have any merit to any audience.

I am disappointed to hear that the series on sexuality is being shelved because of the pressure of one current of opinion. I hope you will use your good office to give those of us who consider that a woman should have freedom to choose whether to carry out a pregnancy a bit of a break on TV.

Sincerely

Ross Dowson #2311
40 Homewood Ave.
Toronto

Dec. 20/75

CARAL *(Canadian Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws)*

Dear friends:

It was a genuine pleasure to receive the Dec/75 newsletter

It was very good & useful – although I was disappointed to see that we have closed the office at 21 Prince Arthur & that Shirley Chester will be operating out of an apartment – why?

I hope some kind of modest campaign is underway to see that Dr. Henry Morgentaler is getting some warm words from many of us over the Christmas – New Years holidays. There should be a note about his continued imprisonment on everything CARAL sends out – don't you think?

Sincerely

Ross Dowson
40 Homewood Ave. #2311
Toronto

on the LABOR PARTY

Marx & Engels

What do you think of the horrors of the labor market? This first explosion against the association of capital will naturally against the suppressed, but can well form the point of origin for the constitution of an earnest workers' party. The policy of the new president will make the Negroes, and the great expropriations of land will make the already dissatisfied farmers of the West, into allies of the workers.

KARL
MARX

FIRST INTERNATIONAL

This cover is a reproduction of one of the twenty-one panels in fresco that the famed Mexican artist Diego Rivera painted for the New Workers School in New York. It is Panel Eight of the series that constitute a graphic presentation of the Portrait of America.

This series was the fruit of Rivera and his co-workers experiences in the United States following the destruction by the Rockefellers of the fresco that had been painted for the Rockefeller Center.

Dominating the panel is the figure of Karl Marx, with a portrait of his co-worker, Frederick Engels, by his side. To the right of Engels appear: William Silvis, a pioneer U. S. trade unionist and founder of the National Labor Union, signalling his support of the First International; Terence V. Powderly, head of the Knights of Labor; Henry George, summoning the workers to battle in the name of a war on monopoly in land; and Johann Most, the anarchist.

The scroll in Marx's hand reads: "What do you think of the workers of the United States? This first explosion against the associated oligarchy of capital will naturally again be suppressed, but can well form the point of origin for the constitution of an earnest workers' party. The policy of the new president will make the Negroes, and the great expropriations of land will make the already dissatisfied farmers of the West, into allies of the workers."

At the top of the panel, behind these major figures, is portrayed the Chicago police assault on a picket line at the McCormick Harvest works which resulted in the murder of six workers. This was a preliminary action in the call by the budding American Federation of Labor that May 1, 1886, initiate a nation-wide struggle for the 8 hour day. The panel also shows the subsequent protest rally in Haymarket during which an agent provocateur threw a bomb that killed several people, including police. The outstanding Chicago union leaders were framed and four of them, Parsons, Spiess, Fischer and Engel, shown with ropes around their necks, died on the gallows.

To keep up-to-date with developments and to be an effective participant in the struggle to build the socialist forces in the NDP, and make it an effective instrument in the Canadian workers' and farmers' struggle for a socialist Canada, you will want to read and suscribe to:

forward

Box 788 Adelaide St., P.O.
Toronto, Ont.

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Name _____

Address _____

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(Undated, found in 1975)-2-

40 Homewood Ave. #2311
Toronto-961-4554

I would like very much to have some talks with you
as you suggest--around the end of this month or so.
I work Wednesdays and Thursdays. Probably the weekends
are only possible for you. Why not--as the time approaches
give me a phone call and we can tie it down. If you phone
after 11:30 I am usually home by then and if I am not
direct call will cost nothing. I will also be in about
1670 Kilbourn Street, #24
Ottawa, Ont.

I am enclosing copies of the last three issues of our
Dear Gary:

It was certainly good to hear from you. I have been
delayed from replying--I spent five or so days out at
Deseronto clearing out a woodlot I have there and since then
I hve been delayed by the job I have and a few efforts to
make some contact through the election campaign now well
underway.

Well now that you have the 'grand tour' under your
belt, as the sons of the English aristocracy in the 17 and
18 hundreds you can return to take over what has been
bequeathed to you by the labors of our proletarian forefathers
and the capitalist system

The job you have sounds quite boring--I hope the pay
compensates. I too am working in a library--two days a week.--in
the only library on Geriatrics in the country so I hear.
I am hoping to be able to live on the two days pay and spend
the rest of the time doing some serious political work. So far
however I keep getting sucked into the day to day deeds of
the Socialist League. Of course I am weak and put up
little resistance. Tomorrow night I must go to a wine and
cheese party in our apartment house. I convinced a couple of
NDPers that we should identify ourselves as NDP openly in
the apartment and we have invited everyone to attend a wine
and cheese meet the candidate affair. ~~Who can deny~~ Who can deny
that it is important that I attempt to establish myself in
some meaningful political way among the people that I live
with. After the election of course I will feel obliged
to do some subscription work for the Forward in the apartment.
Of course. For me--thats the trouble with Marxism--it keeps
directing and shoving me into activity

I think that the elections in Ontario are going to
register a continuing radicalization. While weak in
program the Lewis campaign is a powerful condemnation of the
Davis government. It will be very good if the NDP gets
about 30 seats

40 Homewood Ave.
Toronto-201-4551

-2-

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(undated notes, found in 1975)

With Joe Hansen (S.W.P. leader, New York)

---He wrote & presented a document to the World Congress without so much as a word with me – that initiated the all-out attack on Mandel & Co on guerrilla warfare as a continental strategy. I heard this attack for the first time (truly staggering) when I was seated as a delegate in the audience. Why would this happen when I was led to feel that our collaboration was complete + absolute?

---I had agreed to be the person who would reply to Livio Maitan on China – a disagreement on line that was really nuanced. If I recall correctly I went to NY several days in advance to prepare it (in isolation). The SWP had already prepared (possibly Joe) a document that was key to show the nuances that amounted to a line. It was a paralleled page document that showed how the draft (probably prepared by Joe) had been changed at every critical point. One could carry the argument effectively without copies of this document. I was assured when they didn't get them to me in time to take them over – that Andrew Pulley would bring sufficient copies with him in time for the congress so that I could circulate them and therefore refer to them in the course of my presentation. Pulley didn't bring them – for me, a disaster for him – I forgot the "excuse." Why would that happen?

Alan Wald (*Militant staff writer, SWP—ed.*) sent me a note asking for a copy of my review of the Ian Angus book. A few days later I get a copy of the material he had sent to John Glenn. Why would he want this? Did John give him copies (of) our document on our split from the LSA/RWL?